THE
BEGINNINGS OF HISTORY.

THE

BEGINNINGS OF HISTORY

ACCORDING TO

THE BIBLE AND THE TRADITIONS OF ORIENTAL PEOPLES.

FROM THE CREATION OF MAN TO THE DELUGE.

BY

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(*Translated from the Second French Edition.*)

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INTRODUCTION.

The distinguished scholar, one of whose maturest works is now offered to English readers, is well fitted, both by early training and by later studies, to secure attention to whatever he may write. His father, Charles Lenormant, was an accomplished student and professor of archæology, and he himself found his native enthusiasm directed into similar channels when he was little more than a boy. At twenty-one he wrote a treatise on a problem in numismatics, which received the prize from the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, in 1857, and from that time on he has devoted himself with restless zeal to investigations in many parts of the wide field of antiquities. His versatility, energy, rapidity in work and retentive memory are alike remarkable. He has been by turns traveler, excavator, essayist, decipherer, grammarian, historian, editor, instructor, and can point to productive labor in all these pursuits. After growing thoroughly familiar with classical antiquities, he was ready, when the science of Assyriology began to attract general attention, to throw himself eagerly into this new department, and soon took his place among the leading Assyriologists. He has been always a prolific writer, and has of late years chosen most often such themes as had some connection with recent discoveries in Mesopotamia. At least two of his books have been translated into English: the *Manual of the Ancient History of the East*, 2 vols., London and Philadelphia, 1869–70, the original of which was first published, in con-

nection with E. Chevallier, in 1868–9, and, after being crowned by the French Academy, has passed through many editions,—and *Chaldæan Magic*, London, 1877. He has, besides, frequently written for English periodicals. He is now in his full prime, being about forty-seven years old.

It will be readily seen that Professor Lenormant's wide and long-continued studies fit him in no mean degree for a work like the present, whose value depends largely upon a full collation of the records and legends of ancient peoples, and whose sources of interest to the general reader are so unique. It appeals to a far wider circle than anything he had previously written. The prominent place given, in the title and throughout the book, to the early chapters of the Bible, links this volume with our own private beliefs, and our most fundamental and persistent ideas about society and the human race. But the interest attaching to any fresh treatment of these topics is enhanced in the present case by the stand-point from which they are discussed. Especial attention should be paid to the author's preface, in which he emphatically claims for himself a genuine Christian faith without prejudice to an untrammeled critical freedom. And since among ourselves the practical bearings of scholarship are justly held to be of the last importance, it may not be out of place to say that the time has long gone by when the religious life could afford to look askance upon critical study of the documents from which it is itself fed. Each year is teaching us more plainly that spiritual truth suffers far worse injury from any attempt on the part of its champions to repress or trammel reverent investigation than it ever can even from the excesses of radical criticism. Although Professor Lenormant is far from being a rationalistic critic, yet it is not to be supposed that his views will be at once and generally accepted. Some of them may never be accepted at all. He holds in regard to the early chapters of *Genesis* that they represent for the most part selections from the stock of Shemitic traditions common to the Hebrews with the

Babylonians, Phœnicians and their kin, but cleansed of their impurities, altered in their polytheistic tendencies; in a word, transformed into fit vehicles for spiritual instruction by the divine Spirit, under whose influence the Hebrew writers stood. Yet, however little in accord with our traditional notions this may be, the thorough reverence manifest in Professor Lenormant's pages, and his full recognition of the spiritual advantages of Israel over its neighboring and kindred peoples, forbid our dismissing it without appreciative examination. The same may be said of the details. In the interests of religion, to say nothing of scholarship, we cannot afford to reject conclusions which are put forward in such an unexceptionable spirit, except on rational grounds established as the result of temperate and candid argument. It must be noted that the value of the book does not depend upon the correctness of this or that opinion maintained in it. His warmest admirers will not claim for the author that he is always judicious. It is natural that so ardent and original a scholar should sometimes be incautious and hasty in his conclusions, and that so facile a worker should not always observe the greatest care in minute particulars. The worth of the volume, however, consists not in the safety with which we may take refuge in its opinions, but in the opportunity it gives us to form just opinions of our own. In this point of view, the spirit of its investigations, as above described, is one of its two great advantages: the other is its full presentation of the historical and literary facts. With immense industry and patience, the author has collected materials from all available quarters, and arranged them for purposes of proof or illustration. To the specialist even, and particularly to the student of Assyriology, there cannot fail to be much that is instructive in the facts or their grouping, and the general reader of intelligence will find a mine of information in regard to the early traditions of all the great peoples of the earth, as far as these can be brought into connection, whether organic or merely formal, with the begin-

nings of the Hebrew records. These characteristics give the book its lasting value.

The desire of the publishers has been simply to present the original work in an English dress. In accordance with this purpose, even where the rapid advance of discovery and decipherment, or the expressed judgment of many scholars, might have seemed to lend authority to an emendation of detail, this has not been resorted to. Any attempt to annotate the book would have swelled it to unwieldy proportions, and it was thought best to let the author speak wholly for himself. In the spelling of Oriental and other foreign names, the endeavor has been to represent the sounds correctly to the English, as the author aimed to represent them to the French, ear. Under this limitation, also, the author's transliteration of all Shemitic words has been, with but one considerable exception, followed throughout. His method of representing the stronger Shemitic gutturals has been modified, partly in the endeavor to remove what seemed to be an occasional inconsistency in the original, but partly also with the hope of showing more clearly the relationship of words in the different languages of the family. As here given, '*Ayin* is indicated by ' , and *Cheth* by ḥ or ḫ, according as it corresponded to the Arabic *Ḥā* or *Ḫā*. Initial *Aleph* is not indicated. Medial *Aleph*, with consonantal force, is occasionally denoted by ' , which serves to mark, also, the weak aspirate in Assyrian. In regard to the other consonants, it is necessary to say only that the original has been followed in representing *Ṭeth* by ṭ, *Ssade* by ç, *Qoph* by *q*, and *Shin* (in Assyrian transcriptions) by š (originally = *sh*, afterwards *s*). The publishers and the printers have heartily coöperated in the endeavor to secure accuracy in these respects, but all who have had experience of the typographical difficulties in such works as the present will understand that no claim is made of perfect freedom from errors, and will be indulgent towards such as they may detect.

Much labor has been spent upon the references in which the book abounds. All of these have been verified, unless the works cited were inaccessible, which happened in a comparatively small number of cases. Numerous errors in citation have been silently corrected. The name or date of the edition quoted has sometimes been added in brackets. In a very few instances, where the reference was plainly wrong, and a diligent search failed to supply the means of rectifying it, it has been left standing, but followed by a bracketted interrogation-mark, thus: [?] Frequent references to other editions than the one named by the author, or to English translations of foreign books, have been added to those in the original; the purpose has been not to secure theoretical completeness, but to facilitate the use of the book by English and American students. Such additions have in all cases been enclosed in brackets, and signed Tr. When the author quotes the French translation of an English book, the latter has generally been substituted. It is hoped that possible mistakes and defects in this part of the work will not be too severely judged.

It remains only to add that the thanks of the public are due to Miss Mary Lockwood, of Washington, D. C., who has discharged the laborious work of translation with fidelity and skill. Francis Brown.

Union Theological Seminary, New York,
October, 1882.

PREFACE.

"C'est icy, lecteurs, un livre de bonne foy."
—*Montaigne.*

I HAVE a right to inscribe this sentence as the heading of a book which was composed without any other purpose than that of sincere and conscientious search after scientific truth. By the very subject which it treats, however, this book directly touches questions of the utmost gravity and of a particularly delicate nature. Therefore I owe both to myself and to my reader some preliminary explanations in regard to the spirit in which I have approached them. It is important that no doubt should exist on this point, nor any obscurity cloud my thought.

I am a Christian, and just now, when my belief may be a cause for reprobation, I am more than ever desirous to proclaim it emphatically. But at the same time I am a scholar, and as such I do not recognize both a Christian science and a science of free thought. I acknowledge one science only, needing no qualifying epithet, which leaves theological questions on one side, as foreign to its domain, and accepts all investigators, working in good faith, whatever their religious convictions, as equally its servants. This science it is to which I have devoted my life, and I should think I had failed in a sacred, conscientious duty, if, influenced by any prepossession of another order, however worthy of respect it might be, I should hesitate to tell the truth in all sincerity and simplicity, as I believe myself to have apprehended it. My faith rests upon too solid a foundation to be timid, and

should I happen in the course of my researches to encounter an apparent antinomy between science and religion, I should not for a moment dream of understating or concealing it. I should boldly put forth the two contrary statements, certain beforehand that a day will come when they will attain a harmony which I should not have been skillful enough to discover. But I must add, in all sincerity, that never yet, in the course of a career which already reckons a quarter of a century given to study, have I come face to face with a genuine conflict between science and religion. As far as I am concerned, the two domains are absolutely distinct and not exposed to collision. There can be no quarrel between them, unless one encroach improperly upon the territory of the other. Their truths are of a different order; they coëxist without contradiction, and I shall never consent to sacrifice one set to the other, for I shall never find it necessary to attempt it.

With special reference to Biblical questions, one series of which is treated in the present work, I believe firmly in the inspiration of the Sacred Books, and I subscribe with absolute submission to the doctrinal decisions of the Church in this respect. But I know that these decisions extend inspiration only to that which concerns religion, touching faith and practice, or, in other words, solely to the supernatural teachings contained in the Scriptures. In other matters, the human character of the writers of the Bible is fully evident. Each one of them has put his personal mark upon the style of his book. Where the physical sciences were concerned, they did not have exceptional light; they followed the common, and even the prejudiced, opinions of their age. "The intention of Holy Scripture," says Cardinal Baronius, "is to teach us how to go to heaven, and not how the heavens go," still less how the things of the earth go, and what vicissitudes follow one another here. The Holy Spirit has not been concerned either with the revelation of scientific truths or with universal history. In all such matters, "He has

abandoned the world to the disputes of men," *tradidit mundum disputationibus eorum.*

The submission of the Christian to the authority of the Church, in all that relates to those teachings of faith and morals to be drawn from the Books of the Bible, does not at all interfere with the entire liberty of the scholar, when the question comes up of deciding the character of the narratives, the interpretation to be accorded to them from the historical stand-point, their degree of originality, or the manner in which they are connected with the traditions found among other peoples, who were destitute of the help of divine inspiration, and lastly, the date and mode of composition of the various writings comprised in the scriptural canon. Here scientific criticism resumes all its rights. It is quite justified in freely approaching these various questions, and nothing stands in the way of its taking its position upon the ground of pure science, which demands the consideration of the Bible under the same conditions as any other book of antiquity, examining it from the same standpoints and applying to it the same critical methods. And we need fear no diminution of the real authority of our Sacred Books from examination and discussion of this nature, provided that it be made in a truly impartial spirit, as free from hostile prejudice as from narrow timidity.

Such is the liberty that I have desired to use, and strict fidelity to Catholic orthodoxy did not interfere with my right to do so, nor do I conceive that I have exceeded orthodox limits on any point, even when I may appear to many most daring.

Thus, I do not believe it possible to continue to hold the opinion of the so-called unity of composition of the books of the Pentateuch. It is my conviction as a scholar that a century of external and internal criticism of the text has led to positive results on this point, which I have not accepted without demur, though finally compelled to yield to evidence. This is not at all the place to enter into a demon-

stration of this important fact, which of itself would call for a large book, and which many before me have given, by proofs which I could but have reproduced with merely a difference in the spirit of presentation. I must confine myself to the declaration of a sincere and well-considered conviction on this point, which has required for its establishment reasons all the stronger that, as I was aware, it ran counter to venerable tradition and to the opinion still universal among Catholic doctors—an opinion, however, I make speed to add, which is not dogmatically defined, and never will be, for it does not belong to matters about which one can dogmatize.

As is admitted to-day by the highest authorities among writers of the orthodox Protestant school in Germany and England, not less resolute defenders of revelation and of the inspiration of the Scriptures than the Catholics, I hold as fully demonstrated the distinction between the two fundamental documents, Elohist and Jehovist, which served as sources to the final editor of the first four books of the Pentateuch, who has done little more than establish a sort of concordance between the two, while leaving their redaction intact. These two primary texts may be restored almost without gaps, and it is easy to point out a certain number of discordances between the two, similar to those that may likewise be observed between the different versions of the same event as related in two books of the Bible like *Kings* and *Chronicles.* We must not, however, exaggerate these discordances, which bear only upon facts of an historic character, and not on matters essential to faith. And it is especially the manner in which the final editor or compiler has abstained, beyond a certain degree, from harmonizing the two texts by removing their divergences, that seems to me a decisive proof of the holy and inspired character which he already recognized in their composition.

But this is simply a question of *how* the books of the Pentateuch were formed, and, taken by itself, reduced to its

essential terms, and detached from those consequences which too often have been made a part of it, but do not of necessity flow from it, the *documentary theory*, as it has been called, has nothing in it which could not be accepted by the most scrupulous orthodoxy, and I will go so far as to say that many Catholic doctors, perhaps without altogether admitting the fact to themselves, are gradually tending toward it. The learned theologian to whom we are indebted for a *Manuel Biblique*, recently published for a text-book in the seminaries,(1) acknowledges that nothing hinders the admission that the author of the Pentateuch "has included in his work, with few or no modifications, written or oral traditions handed down from ancient times, of whose exactness he was satisfied. It was quite possible for him to allow them to retain their distinguishing features, such as the special use of certain divine names, peculiar or archaic phrases and expressions, etc., limiting himself to an adaptation of them to the framework into which he desired to fit them. It is impossible to make any well-founded objection to this explanation." Taken in itself, the *documentary theory* amounts to no more than to extend to the whole book the use of anterior redactions, thus accepted as a possible thing, and to define the nature of these redactions.

The distinction of the two primitive books, Elohist and Jehovist, combined by the final editor, where rationalistic criticism seems to me to have reached a plain demonstration which orthodox criticism may perfectly well accept, is one thing; quite another is the question of the date which should be assigned to the composition of these two original writings, and to their final combination in a single book. Here we are so far from a substantial result that each one has his own private system, and into the foundation of all these different systems enter considerations no longer belonging exclusively to the domain of science. For my part, I have not yet

(1) The Abbé Vigouroux, Professor of Sacred Scripture in the Seminary of St. Sulpice.

lighted upon a single one presenting sufficiently decisive marks of demonstration to be adopted as scientific truth, and to finally subvert a tradition so ancient that independent criticism ought at least to take serious account of it. Considering the question from a purely scientific stand-point, without any religious prepossession, it appears to me still undecided, and I do not believe that a definite result can be reached until more account is taken than heretofore of the new elements brought to bear upon the problem by studies in Egyptology and Assyriology. One single point is already, to my thinking, almost settled, and that by the most recent criticism, contrary to long-received opinion, and that is that the Jehovist, whatever may be his exact date, is considerably older than the Elohist; that his work actually represents the very earliest book relating to the beginnings of Israel, its exodus from Egypt and its sojourn in the desert.

But in these questions of dates and authors, criticism has the right to claim absolute liberty. It is confronted with a tradition which it cannot lightly put aside; it does not encounter a formal dogma. Whatever the results which it may reach, provided these results have a certain and genuinely-scientific character, there is no reason to fear them. We must learn to bring the same breadth of view to this study as did the old Fathers, especially St. Jerome, when he wrote: "*Sive Mosen dicere volueris auctorem Pentateuchi, sive Esdram ejusdem instauratorem operis, non recuso.*" Even should we end by establishing the fact that the Pentateuch, under the definite form that we possess, does not date back farther than the return from the Captivity, the religious authority of the Sacred Books in all essentials need not, therefore, suffer in the eyes of Christians. It is a matter of faith that the divine inspiration was preserved in the Synagogue until the coming of Christ, and that consequently the character of the supernatural help received by the authors of the Biblical writings does not depend upon the fixing of

their date. Whether recent or remote, they occupy the same position for the believer.

Christian doctrine makes in the Bible a distinction between two different things, revelation and inspiration. Everything in the Book is inspired, but not everything is revelation. Inspiration in no way excludes the use of documents of a human character, the acceptance, by the authors, of ancient popular traditions, spontaneously formed in the course of the ages, common to the Hebrews and to the nations whose only help lay in the natural lights of mankind, nations given over to the errors of polytheism.

How then should the first chapters of *Genesis* be regarded? As a revealed account, or as a human tradition, preserved by inspired writers as the most ancient record of their race? This is the problem which I have been led to examine in comparing the narrations of the Sacred Book with those current long ages before the time of Môsheh among nations whose civilization dated back into the remote past, with whom Israel was surrounded, from among whom it came out. As far as I myself am concerned, the conclusion from this study is not doubtful. That which we read in the first chapters of *Genesis* is not an account dictated by God Himself, the possession of which was the exclusive privilege of the chosen people. It is a tradition whose origin is lost in the night of the remotest ages, and which all the great nations of western Asia possessed in common, with some variations. The very form given it in the Bible is so closely related to that which has been lately discovered in Babylon and Chaldæa, it follows so exactly the same course, that it is quite impossible for me to doubt any longer that it has the same origin. The family of Abrâhâm carried this tradition with it in the migration which brought it from Ur of the Chaldees into Palestine, and even then it was doubtless already fixed, either in a written or an oral form, for beneath the expressions of the Hebrew text in more than one place there appear certain things which can be explained only as

expressions peculiar to the Assyrian language, as, for instance, the play of words in *Genesis* xi. 4, which clearly has its source in the analogy of the words *zikru*, "remembrance, name," and *zikurat*, "tower, pyramid with stories," in the last-named idiom. The Biblical writers, in recording this tradition at the beginning of their books, created a genuine archæology, in the sense attached to the word by the Greeks. The first chapters of *Genesis* constitute a "Book of the Beginnings," in accordance with the stories handed down in Israel from generation to generation, ever since the times of the Patriarchs, which, in all its essential affirmations, is parallel with the statements of the sacred books from the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris.

But, if this is so, I shall perhaps be asked, Where then do you find the divine inspiration of the writers who made this *archœology*—that supernatural help by which, as a Christian, you must believe them to have been guided? Where? In the absolutely new spirit which animates their narration, even though the form of it may have remained in almost every respect the same as among the neighboring nations. It is the same narrative, and in it the same episodes succeed one another in like manner; and yet one would be blind not to perceive that the signification has become altogether different. The exuberant polytheism which encumbers these stories among the Chaldæans has been carefully eliminated, to give place to the severest monotheism. What formerly expressed naturalistic conceptions of a singular grossness, here becomes the garb of moral truths of the most exalted and most purely spiritual order. The essential features of the form of the tradition have been preserved, and yet between the Bible and the sacred books of Chaldæa there is all the distance of one of the most tremendous revolutions which have ever been effected in human beliefs. Herein consists the miracle, and it is none the less amazing for being transposed. Others may seek to explain this by the simple, natural progress of the conscience of humanity; for myself,

I do not hesitate to find in it the effect of a supernatural intervention of divine Providence, and I bow before the God who inspired the Law and the Prophets.

It did not enter into the plan of my book to examine the problem, perhaps forever insoluble, as to how much in this tradition is actual fact, and how much symbolic. I wished to occupy myself only with the origin and the universal character of its narratives. But if the result of the facts which we have grouped should lead to the extension beyond what is usual of the part taken by allegory and symbol, here again the latitude of interpretation allowed by orthodoxy is so great that Faith has nothing to fear from the researches of science. The school of Alexandria in general, and Origen in particular, in the first centuries of the Church, interpreted the first chapters of *Genesis* in the allegorical sense; in the sixteenth century, the great Cardinal Cajetan revived this system, and, bold as it may appear, it has never been the object of any ecclesiastical censure.

I owed these explanations to those whose belief I share, and whom it would give me much pain to scandalize, even in making use of my indisputable rights. As to the pure rationalists, it will disturb me but little should they smile at these scruples, which do not affect them. To such as they I have but a single remark to make: This is a scientific book; read it, and find a single point where my Christian convictions have embarrassed me, and proved an obstacle to the liberty of my research as a scholar, or where they may have prevented me from adopting the well-ascertained results of criticism.

I make no pretension to infallibility. I expect to have my book raise numerous discussions, and to have it assailed from very different stand-points. Doubtless mistakes and errors will be pointed out in it. They were inevitable in so extended a course of research, bearing upon so many difficult subjects. But, at least, what I think even the severest censors will have to recognize is the fact that the study has been

conscientiously pursued, and on thoroughly scientific principles. I may have deceived myself, but I have done so always in perfect good faith, and while on my guard, to the best of my ability, against bondage to a system.

In regard to the typographical errors which the volume may contain, I beg the indulgence of the reader, requesting him to take into account the special difficulties in its printing. Here again I have endeavored to do my best, and I must in justice say the same for my printer and publisher.

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THE

BEGINNINGS OF HISTORY.

THE BIBLICAL ACCOUNT.

I.

THE CREATION.

(ELOHIST FORM.)

CHAP. I. 1. In the beginning, Elohim created the heavens and the earth.

2 And the earth was a desert and an empty chaos; the darkness was upon the surface of the abyss, and the breath of Elohim was moving over the waters.

3 Elohim said: "Let light be!" and light was.

4 And Elohim saw the light, that it was good, and Elohim separated the light from the darkness.

5 And Elohim named the light day, and the darkness night; and it was evening, and it was morning: one day.

6 Elohim said: "Let there be a firmament between the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters!" [And it was so. (1)]

7 And Elohim made the firmament, and separated the waters that are above the firmament from those that are below the firmament. [And Elohim saw the firmament, that it was good. (2)]

8 And Elohim named the firmament heaven. And it was evening, and it was morning: second day.

9 And Elohim said: "Let the waters which are under the heaven gather together in one place, and let the dry [land] appear!" And it was so.

10 And Elohim named the dry [land] earth, and he named the gathering together of the waters seas. And Elohim saw that it was good.

(1) These words occur at the end of verse 7, but they are evidently misplaced from their original position, to which we have restored them, in accordance with the parallelism constantly recurring in the narration of the other acts of creation, and following the Septuagint version, which gives them precisely here.

(2) The Septuagint has retained this sentence as necessary to the regular progress of the narrative. The Hebrew text has let it drop, replacing it with the sentence which originally ended verse 6.

11 And Elohim said: "Let the earth produce verdure, the herb bearing seed, the fruit-tree bearing fruit after its kind, which may have its seed in itself upon the earth." And it was so.

12 And the earth produced verdure, the herb bearing seed after its kind, and the tree bearing fruit, which has its seed in itself after its kind. And Elohim saw that it was good.

13 And it was evening, and it was morning: third day.

14 Elohim said: "Let there be luminaries in the firmament of heaven, to divide the day from the night, and let them be the signs for the time of festivals, the days and the years,

15 and let them be the luminaries in the firmament of heaven to give light upon the earth!" And it was so.

16 And Elohim made the two great luminaries, the greater luminary to preside over the day, the lesser luminary to preside over the night, and also the stars. (1)

(1) All the probabilities indicate that primitively an additional verse occurred here, and Schrader has not hesitated to restore it:

[And Elohim named the greater luminary sun, and he named the lesser luminary moon.]

17 And Elohim placed them in the firmament of heaven to give light upon the earth,
18 and to preside over the day and the night, and to divide the light from dimness. And Elohim saw that it was good.
19 And it was evening, and it was morning: fourth day.
20 Elohim said: "Let the waters swarm with a living increase, and let the fowls fly over the earth towards the face of the firmament of heaven!" [And it was so.(1)]
21 And Elohim created the great sea-monsters and all the living and creeping beings, with which the waters swarm after their kinds, and also all winged fowl after its kind. And Elohim saw that it was good.
22 And Elohim blessed them, saying: "Be fruitful, multiply and fill the waters of the seas, and let the fowl multiply on the land!"
23 And it was evening, and it was morning: fifth day.
24 And Elohim said: "Let the earth produce living beings after their kinds, the cattle, the reptiles and the wild beasts of the earth after their kinds!" And it was so.

(1) Sentence omitted by the Hebrew text, but retained by the Septuagint version.

25 And Elohim made the wild beasts of the earth after their kinds, the cattle after their kind, and every reptile of the ground after its kind. And Elohim saw that it was good.(1)

26 Elohim said: "Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness, and let him have dominion over the fishes of the sea, over the fowls of the air, over the cattle and over all the earth (2), and over every reptile that creeps upon the earth!"

27 And Elohim created man in his image; in the image of Elohim he created him; male and female he created them.

28 And Elohim blessed them, and said to them: "Be fruitful, multiply, fill the earth and subject it; have dominion over the fishes of the sea, over the fowl of the air and over every living being that moves over the earth!"

29 And Elohim said: "Behold, I give you all herb bearing seed that is upon the surface of all the earth, and every tree which has

(1) The primitive text must have contained a verse at this place, dropped later, which doubtless ran about as follows:—

[And Elohim blessed them, saying: "Be fruitful, multiply and occupy the earth!"]

(2) It may be surmised that originally the text read: "over the cattle and over all the (wild beasts of the) earth and over every reptile that creeps upon the earth."

a fruit producing seed; that shall be food
for you,
30 and to every animal of the ground and to
every fowl of the air and to every reptile
on the earth having in itself a breath of
life [I give (1)], all green of herbs for food."
And it was so.
31 And Elohim saw all that he had made, and
behold, it was very good. And it was
evening, and it was morning: sixth day.
CHAP. II. 1. And the heavens and the earth
were finished and all their host.
2 And Elohim finished on the seventh day his
work, which he had made; and on the
seventh day he rested from all his work,
which he had made.
3 And Elohim blessed the seventh day and
sanctified it, because on this day he rested
from all his work, which Elohim had cre-
ated in making it.
4 This is "The genealogies of the heavens and
of the earth, when they were created."

(1) A supplement, necessary at least in a translation. Indeed it is probable that the verb existed originally in the text and has dropped out of the sentence.

II.

THE CREATION OF MAN AND OF WOMAN.

(JEHOVIST FORM.)

CHAP. II. 4. On the day that Yahveh Elohim made the earth and the heavens,

5 not a shrub of the fields was yet upon the earth, not a herb of the fields had yet sprouted, because Yahveh Elohim had not yet made it to rain upon the earth, and there was no man to cultivate the ground;

6 but a thick cloud rose up from the earth and watered all the surface of the ground.

7 And Yahveh Elohim formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed in his nostrils the breath of life, and man was made a living being.

8 And Yahveh Elohim planted a garden in ʿÊden on the eastward side, and he placed there the man whom he had formed.

9 And Yahveh Elohim made to shoot from the ground every tree pleasant to see and good to eat, and the tree of life in the middle of the garden, and also the tree of the knowledge of good and of evil.

10 A river came out of ʿÊden to water the garden, and from thence it divided to form four arms.

11 The name of the one is Pîshôn; it is that which encircles all the land of Ḥavîlâh, where the gold is found.

12 And the gold of that land is good; and also there is found the bedolaḥ and the stone shoham.

13 And the name of the second river is Gîḥôn; it is that which encircles all the land of Kûsh.

14 And the name of the third river is Ḥid-Deqel; it is that which flows before As-shûr. And the fourth river is the Phrâth.

15 Yahveh Elohim took the man and placed him in the garden of ʿÊden (gan-ʿÊden) to cultivate it and to keep it.

16 And Yahveh Elohim commanded the man, saying: "Of every tree in the garden thou mayst eat,

17 but of the tree of the knowledge of good and of evil thou shalt not eat, for on the day that thou shalt eat of it, thou shalt die of death."

18 And Yahveh Elohim said: "It is not good that the man be alone; I will make him a help fitting for him."

19 And Yahveh Elohim formed out of earth all the animals of the field and all the fowls of the air, and he led them to the man to see how he would name them; and according as the man should name a living being, such would be its name.

20 And the man called by name all cattle, all fowl of the air and all wild beasts of the fields; but for the man he did not find a help fitting for him.

21 Then Yahveh Elohim made a deep sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept; he took one of his sides, and he closed up the place with flesh.

22 And Yahveh Elohim formed the side which he had taken from the man into a woman, and he led her to the man.

23 And the man said: "Now this is bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh; this shall be called woman (îsshâh) because she has been taken from man (îsh)."

24 This is why the man shall leave his father and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be only one flesh.

25 And both of them, the man and the woman, were naked, and they were not ashamed.

III.

THE FIRST SIN.

(JEHOVIST FORM.)

CHAP. III. 1. The serpent was more crafty than all the other animals of the field that Yahveh Elohim had made, and he said to the woman: "Did Elohim actually say: You shall not eat of any tree of the garden?"

2 And the woman said to the serpent: "We do eat the fruits of the trees of the garden;

3 but as to the fruit of the tree which is in the middle of the garden, Elohim has said: "You shall not eat of it and shall not touch it, so as not to die."

4 And the serpent said to the woman: "You will not die of death from it;

5 for Elohim knows that on the day when you eat of it your eyes will open, and you will be like Elohim, knowing good and evil."

6 And the woman saw that the tree was good to eat and pleasant to the eyes, and that it was a tree to be desired to give intelligence; and she took of the fruit and ate

of it, and she gave some to her husband,
beside her, and he did eat of it.

7 Then the eyes of both of them opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig-leaves, and made themselves girdles.

8 And they heard the voice of Yahveh Elohim, who was passing through the garden in the evening cool, and the man and the woman hid themselves from before the face of Yahveh Elohim, among the trees of the garden.

9 Yahveh Elohim called the man to him and said: "Where art thou?"

10 And he said: "I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I am naked, and I hid myself."

11 And [Yahveh Elohim(1)] said: "Who has taught thee that thou art naked? Of the tree, of which I had forbidden thee to eat, hast thou then eaten?"

12 And the man said: "The woman that thou hast given me to be beside me, gave me of the tree, and I ate."

13 And Yahveh Elohim said to the woman: "Why hast thou done this?" And the

(1) This name of God is not in the text, which only uses the verb in the third person, but its insertion was indispensable to the clearness of the translation.

woman said: "The serpent seduced me, and I ate."

14 Yahveh Elohim said to the serpent: "Since thou hast done this, thou art accursed among all the cattle and all the animals of the earth; thou shalt go upon thy belly, and thou shalt eat the dust all the days of thy life.

15 "I will establish an enmity between thee and the woman, between thy race and her race; it(1) shall crush thy head, and thou shalt wound its heel."

16 To the woman he said: "I will increase the pain of thy pregnancy; thou shalt bring forth thy sons in sorrow; thy desire shall be toward thy husband, and he shall rule over thee."

17 And to the man he said: "Since thou hast listened to the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I had forbidden thee to eat, accursed be the ground for thy sake! Thou shalt eat by means of it in pain all the days of thy life;

18 It shall produce thorns and brambles for thee, and thou shalt eat the herb of the field;

19 Thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy

(1) The race of the woman and not the woman herself; the gender of the pronoun in the Hebrew leaves no doubt on the subject, and the Septuagint is here correct.

brow, until thou return to the ground whence thou hast been taken; for dust thou art, and to the dust shalt thou return."

20 The man called his wife by the name of Ḥavvâh, because she was the mother of all the living.

21 And Yahveh Elohim made for the man and for his wife tunics of skin and dressed them.

22 And Yahveh Elohim said: "Behold, the man is become as one of us for the knowledge of good and of evil; but now, that he may not stretch out his hand and take of the tree of life, eat and live forever!"

23 And Yahveh Elohim drove him from the garden of ʿÊden that he might cultivate the ground whence he was taken.

24 Thus he put out the man, and he placed to the east of the garden of ʿÊden the Kerubîm and the flaming blade of the sword which turns, to keep the way of the tree of life.

IV.

QAÎN AND HÂBEL AND THE RACE OF QAÎN.

(JEHOVIST FORM.)

CHAP. IV. 1. And the man knew Ḥavvâh, his wife; and she conceived and gave birth to Qaîn, and she said: "I have created a man with the help of Yahveh(1)."

2 And she again gave birth to his brother Hâbel, and Hâbel was a feeder of flocks, and Qaîn a cultivator of the ground.

3 It happened after a series of days that Qaîn presented to Yahveh an offering of the fruits of the ground.

4 And Hâbel, on his part, presented to him one of the first-born of his flock and of their fat; and Yahveh looked upon Hâbel and his offering;

(1) Qaîn signifies properly "the creature, the offspring." The word appears as a substantive in this sense in the Sabean inscriptions of Southern Arabia (Fr. Lenormant, *Lettres Assyriologiques*, vol. II., p. 173). For the interpretation of these appellations, which go back to a remote antiquity, the Hebrew vocabulary, as we are acquainted with it, reduced to the words furnished by the Bible, does not always suffice, and it is necessary to have recourse to comparison with other Semitic idioms. By such comparison the Assyrian informs us that Hâbel meant "son." (Oppert. *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. II., p. 139.)

5 But he looked not upon Qaîn and his offering, and Qaîn was very angry, and he lowered his countenance.

6 And Yahveh said to Qaîn: "Why art thou angry, and why hast thou lowered thy countenance?

7 "When thou hast done well, dost thou not lift it up? And in that thou hast not done well, sin lies in ambush at thy door, and its appetite is turned toward thee; but thou, rule over it."

8 And Qaîn said to his brother Hâbel: [" Let us go into the fields(1)."] And it happened, when they were in the fields, Qaîn rose against Hâbel his brother, and killed him.

9 And Yahveh said to Qaîn: "Where is Hâbel, thy brother?" And he said: "I do not know. Am I the keeper of my brother?"

10 And [Yahveh(2)] said: "What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood cries toward me from the soil.

(1) The Septuagint and the Samaritan text have retained these words, which have dropped out of the Hebrew text and left a void. St. Jerome has supplied them from the Greek version.

(2) Supplied for the sake of clearness. The text simply puts the verb in the third person.

11 "Now thou shalt be accursed from the soil of the earth which has opened its mouth to receive the blood of thy brother from thy hand;

12 "When thou shalt cultivate the soil, it shall no longer give thee its produce; and thou shalt be wandering and fugitive upon the earth."

13 And Qaîn said to Yahveh: "My crime is too great for me to carry the weight of it.

14 "Behold thou dost drive me to-day from the surface of the soil.(1) I must hide myself from before thy face, and I shall be wandering and fugitive upon the earth; and it will come to pass, whosoever shall overtake me will slay me."

15 And Yahveh said to him: "For this cause, whosoever will slay Qaîn vengeance will pay seven times." And Yahveh placed a mark on Qaîn, so that whosoever should overtake him would not slay him.

16 And Qaîn went out from the presence of Yahveh, and he settled in the land of Nôd (of exile), to the east of 'Êden.

17 Qaîn knew his wife, and she conceived, and

(1) The word adâmâh, "soil," is manifestly employed here to designate the cultivated and cultivable ground, in a special way, the adamic soil, as opposed to *ereç*, "the earth," in its more general meaning.

she gave birth to Ḥanôk; and he built afterwards a city, and he named the city after the name of his son Ḥanôk.

18 And to Ḥanôk was born ʿIrâd, and ʿIrâd begat Meḥûiâêl, and Meḥûiâêl begat Methushâêl, and Methushâêl begat Lemek.

19 And Lemek took for himself two wives, the name of the one ʿÂdâh, and the name of the other Çillâh.

20 And ʿAdâh gave birth to Yâbâl: he is the father of all those who dwell under tents and among the flocks.

21 And the name of his brother was Yûbâl: he is the father of all those who play the kinnôr and the flute.

22 And Çillâh on her part gave birth to Tûbal the smith, forger of all instruments of brass and of iron; and the sister of Tûbal the smith was Naʿamâh.

23 And Lemek said to his wives:
"ʿÂdah and Çillâh listen to my voice!
"Wives of Lemek give heed to my word!
"For I have killed a man for my wound,
"and a child for my bruise.

24 "After the same manner as Qaîn shall be revenged seven times,
"Lemek shall be seventy-seven times."

25 And Âdâm knew his wife again, and she

gave birth to a son, and she called his name Shêth: "Because Elohim has given me an offspring in the place of Hâbel, as Qaîn killed him."

26 And to Shêth in his turn a son was born, and he called him by his name Enôsh. Then men began to invoke by the name of Yahveh.

V.

THE RACE OF SHÊTH.

(ELOHIST VERSION.)

CHAP. V. 1. This is the "Book of the genealogy of Âdâm."

In the day that Elohim created man, he made him in the likeness of Elohim;

2 Male and female he created them, and he blessed them and named them by their name Âdâm the day they were created.

3 And Âdâm lived 130 years, and he begat in his likeness and in his image, and he called him [his son(1)] by his name Shêth;

4 And the days of Âdâm after the birth of Shêth were 800 years, and he begat sons and daughters;

5 and all the days that Âdâm lived were 930 years, and he died.

6 And Shêth lived 105 years, and he begat Enôsh;

(1) The text reads simply "and he called him by his name," which would be too foreign a rendering for our language.

7 and Shêth lived after having begotten Enôsh 807 years, and he begat sons and daughters;
8 and all the days of Shêth were 912 years, and he died.
9 And Enôsh lived 90 years and he begat Qênân;
10 and Enôsh lived 815 years after having begotten Qênân, and he begat sons and daughters;
11 and all the days of Enôsh were 905 years, and he died.
12 And Qênân lived 70 years, and he begat Mahalal'êl;
13 and Qênân lived 840 years after having begotten Mahalal'êl, and he begat sons and daughters,
14 and all the days of Qênân were 910 years, and he died.
15 And Mahalal'êl lived 65 years, and he begat Yered;
16 and Mahalal'êl lived 830 years after having begotten Yered, and he begat sons and daughters;
17 and all the days of Mahalal'êl were 895 years, and he died.
18 And Yered lived 162 years and he begat Ḥanôk;

19 and Yered lived 800 years after having begotten Ḥanôk, and he begat sons and daughters;
20 and all the days of Yered were 962 years, and he died.
21 And Ḥanôk lived 65 years and begat Methûshelaḥ;
22 and Ḥanôk, after having begotten Methûshelaḥ, walked with God(1) 300 years, and he begat sons and daughters;
23 and all the days of Ḥanôk were 365 years;
24 and Ḥanôk walked with God, and he was no more, for Elohim took him.
25 And Methûshelaḥ lived 187 years and begat Lemek;
26 and Methûshelaḥ lived 782 years after having begotten Lemek, and he begat sons and daughters;
27 and all the days of Methûshelaḥ were 969 years, and he died.
28 And Lemek lived 182 years, and he begat a son;
29 and he named him Nôaḥ, saying: "He will comfort us for our weariness and the toil of

(1) I have translated "God" and no longer Elohim where the divine Name is preceded by the article, which makes it a noun of excellence, *hâ'elohîm*, "the God," the only God.

our hands, proceeding from this ground
that Yahveh has cursed."[1]

30 And Lemek lived 595 years after having
begotten Nôaḥ, and he begat sons and
daughters;

31 and all the days of Lemek were 777 years,
and he died.

32 And Nôaḥ was 500 years old when he begat
Shêm, Ḥâm and Yâpheth.

(1) The last editor appears at this point to have taken up a verse of the genealogy of Shêth from the Jehovist document, of which he has preserved the two first verses above, suppressing the others, using this as though to supplement the Elohist document which he had adopted.

VI.

THE CHILDREN OF GOD AND THE CHILDREN OF MAN.

(JEHOVIST SOURCE.)

CHAP. VI. 1. It happened, as men began to multiply on the face of the ground and daughters were born to them,

2 the children of God (*benê hâ'elohîm*) saw the daughters of man (*benôth hâ'âdâm*), that they were beautiful; then they took for wives among them all those who pleased them.

3 And Yahveh said: "My spirit will not prevail always in man, because he is flesh; and his days shall be 120 years."

4 The Giants (*nephîlîm*) were on the earth in these days, and also after that the children of God had come to the daughters of man, and these had given them children: they are the heroes (*gibbôrîm*) who belong to antiquity, men of renown.

VII.

THE DELUGE.

(COMBINATION OF THE TWO VERSIONS, ELOHIST AND JEHOVIST.)(1)

5 *And Yahveh saw that the wickedness of man was great upon the earth, and that the direction of the thoughts of his heart tended constantly toward evil;*
6 *and Yahveh repented him of having made man on the earth, and he was grieved in his heart.*
7 *And Yahveh said: "I will exterminate man whom I have created from the surface of the ground, beginning at man, even to the cattle, to the reptiles and to the fowls of the air, for I repent me of having made them."*
8 *But Nôaḥ found grace in the eyes of Yahveh.*
9 This is "The genealogies of Nôaḥ." Nôaḥ was a just man and upright among his contemporaries; Nôaḥ walked with God,

(1) We put in italics all that is referred to the Jehovist document, thus separating the two accounts, combined by the last editor, the one from the other, and at the same time preserving each in its integrity.

10 and Nôaḥ begat three sons, Shêm, Ḥâm and Yâpheth.

11 And the earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was full of violence.

12 And Elohim looked upon the earth, and behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted its way upon the earth.

13 And Elohim said to Nôaḥ: "The end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is filled with violence through them; and behold, I will bring them to perdition with the earth.

14 Make for thyself a chest of cypress wood; divide this chest in cells, and overspread it with bitumen within and without.

15 And thus shalt thou make it: 300 cubits the length of the chest, 50 cubits its breadth, and 30 cubits its height.

16 Thou shalt make a window to the ark, and thou shalt limit it to a cubit on the top; and thou shalt place the door of the ark on the side; and thou shalt make a lower story to it, a second and a third.

17 And behold, I will make to come the deluge of the waters upon the earth to destroy all flesh which has in it the breath of life under the heavens; all that is upon the earth shall die;

18 but I will establish my compact with thee, and thou shalt enter the ark, thou and thy sons, and thy wife and thy sons' wives with thee.

19 And of all that which lives, of all flesh, thou shalt make to enter within the ark two of each (species) to preserve them in life with thee; let them be male and female.

20 Of fowls after their kind, of cattle after its kind, of every reptile of the ground after its kind, two of each shall come to thee that thou mayst preserve them in life.

21 And thou, take for thyself all food which is eaten; gather it near thee, and it shall be for nourishment for thee and for them."

22 And Nôaḥ did it; all that Elohim had commanded him, he did it.

CHAP. VII. 1. *And Yahveh said to Nôaḥ: "Enter into the ark,*(1) *thou and all thy house, for I have seen thee just before me in this age.*

2 *Of all clean cattle thou shalt take with thee seven pairs, the male and his female, and of cattle which is not clean one pair, the male and his female.*

(1) The Jehovist document evidently placed the instructions given by Yahveh to Nôaḥ for the building of the ark prior to this; the final editor omitted them, doubtless because they were an exact repetition of those in the Elohist document.

3 *Also of the fowls of the air [which are clean] seven pairs, the male and his female [and of fowls which are not clean one pair, the male and his female],*(1) *in order to preserve their living seed upon the face of all the earth.*

4 *For after yet seven days, I will make it to rain on the earth forty days and forty nights, and I will destroy every being which I have made from off the face of the ground."*

5 *And Nôaḥ did all as Yahveh had commanded him.*

6 *And Nôaḥ was* 600 *years old when the deluge of waters was upon the earth.*

7 *And Nôaḥ came, and his sons and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark before the waters of the deluge.*

8 *Of clean cattle and of cattle which is not clean and of fowls [clean and of fowls that are not clean], and of all that which moves upon the ground,*(2)

9 *two by two came to Nôaḥ in the ark, the male*

(1) We complete, according to the version of the Septuagint, this verse, mutilated in the Hebrew text. (See A. Kayser, *Das vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte Israëls*, p. 8.)

(2) Again an incomplete verse in the Hebrew, which we restore according to the Septuagint.

and the female, as Elohim[1] *had commanded Nôaḥ.*[2]
10 *And it happened after seven days the waters of the deluge were upon the earth.*
11 In the six hundredth year of the life of Nôaḥ, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, on that day all the springs of the great abyss gushed forth, and the flood-gates of heaven were opened
12 *and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.*
13 In this same day Nôaḥ entered into the ark, and Shêm and Ḥâm and Yâpheth, the sons of Nôaḥ, and the wife of Nôaḥ, and the three wives of his sons with him,
14 they and every living being after its kind—all cattle after its kind, all that is feathered, all that is winged;
15 and they came to Nôaḥ into the ark, two by two of all flesh in which is the breath of life;
16 and they that came, male and female of all

(1) The employment of this divine Name here, instead of that of Yahveh, is exceptional and singular, for this verse evidently belongs to the Jehovist redaction. (See Schrader, *Studien zur Kritik und Erklœrung der Biblischen Urgeschichte*, p. 138.)

(2) It seems at least very probable that the sentence, which the text as it stands transfers to the end of verse 16—*and Yahveh shut him up*—occurred originally at this point.

flesh, came in obedience to what Elohim had commanded Nôaḥ [*and Yahveh shut him up*].(1)

17 *And the deluge was forty days on the earth; and the waters increased and lifted up the ark, and it was raised above the earth.*

18 And the waters strengthened and grew upon the earth, and the ark began to move on the surface of the waters.

19 And the waters strengthened more and more upon the earth, and all the high mountains that are under all the heavens were covered;

20 fifteen cubits upwards the waters rose, and the mountains were covered.

21 And all flesh that moved upon the earth died, of cattle, of wild animals, and of every reptile which creeps upon the earth, and also every man;

22 everything that breathed the breath of life in its nostrils, everything that was upon the dry land died.

23 *And every living being which was upon the face of the ground was destroyed, from man even to the cattle, the reptiles and the fowls of the air, and they were exterminated from off the earth; and there remained only*

(1) See the preceding note.

Nôaḥ and those who were with him in the ark.

24 And the waters grew upon the earth during one hundred and fifty days.

CHAP. VIII. 1. And Elohim remembered Nôaḥ, and all the animals and all the cattle which were with him in the ark; and Elohim made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters were abated.

2 And the sources of the abyss and the flood-gates of heaven were closed, *and the rain from heaven ceased.*

3 *and the waters retreated from off the earth, departing and withdrawing themselves*, and the waters diminished after one hundred and fifty days.

4 And the ark stood still on the mountains of Arârâṭ, in the seventh month, the seventeenth day of the month.

5 The waters went on decreasing until the tenth month; in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, the tops of the mountains appeared.

6 *And it came to pass, at the end of the forty days, Nôaḥ opened the window of the ark that he had made,*

7 *and he sent out the raven; and it went out,*

going forth and returning, until the waters were dried up on the earth.

8 . . . . . . ,(1) *and he sent out after it the dove, to see if the waters had diminished on the face of the ground,*

9 *and the dove found no place where to rest the sole of its feet, and it returned to him into the ark, because the waters were upon the face of all the earth; and he stretched out his hand, and took it and brought it back to him into the ark.*

10 *And Nôaḥ waited yet seven more days, and again he sent the dove out of the ark;*

11 *and the dove returned to him in the evening, and behold, a fresh olive leaf was in its beak. And Nôaḥ knew that the waters had diminished off the earth.*

12 *And Nôaḥ waited yet seven more days, and he sent out the dove; but this time it returned to him no more.*

13 And it came to pass, in the six hundredth and first year, in the first month, the first of the month, the waters had dried off the earth; *and Nôaḥ raised the lid of the*

(1) There is an undoubted gap here, but it is possible to fill it with an almost entire certainty with the help of the opening words of verses 10 and 12:

[*And Nôaḥ waited seven days.*]

chest, and behold, the surface of the ground was dried.

14 And in the second month, the twenty-seventh day of the month, the earth was dry.

15 And Elohim spake to Nôaḥ, saying:

16 "Go out of the ark, thou, and thy wife and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee.

17 Every living animal which is with thee of all flesh, of fowls, of cattle, and of every being endowed with motion, which moves upon the earth, make them to go out with thee; let them spread themselves over the earth, let them be fruitful, and let them multiply upon the earth!"

18 And Nôaḥ went out, and his sons and his wife, and his sons' wives with him.

19 Every living animal and every being endowed with motion, and every bird, and everything that moves upon the earth according to their kinds, came out of the ark.

20 *And Nôaḥ built an altar to Yahveh, and he took of all clean cattle, and of all clean fowl, and he offered a holocaust upon the altar;*

21 *and Yahveh smelled the pleasant odor, and Yahveh said in his heart: "I will no longer curse the ground because of man, for the thought of the heart of man is evil from his youth; and I will not smite everything that lives, as I have done before.*

22 *So long as the days of the earth shall be, the seed-time and the harvest, the cold and the heat, the summer and the winter, the day and the night shall not cease."*

CHAP. IX. 1. And Elohim blessed Nôaḥ and his sons, and said to them: "Be fruitful, multiply and replenish the earth.

2 And you shall be an object of fear and terror to all the animals of the earth, and to all the fowls of the air, to all that move upon the earth and to all the fishes of the sea; they are delivered into your hands.

3 All things that move and all living things shall be to you for food; like as the green of the herb, I give you all.

4 But you shall not eat the flesh with its soul, with its blood.

5 But likewise I will demand back your blood, that of your souls; I will demand it back at the hand of every animal, and at the hand of the man who is his brother, will I demand back the life of man.

6 Whoso spills the blood of man, by man shall his blood be spilled, because it is in the image of Elohim that he has made man.

7 And you, be fruitful and multiply, spread yourselves over the earth, and multiply upon it."

8 And Elohim spoke to Nôaḥ, and to his sons with him, saying:
9 "Behold, I will establish my compact with you and with your race after you,
10 and with every living being that is with you, of fowl, of cattle, and of every animal of the earth with you, be it with all those who came out of the ark, be it with every animal of the earth.
11 And I will establish my compact with you: all flesh shall never again be exterminated by the waters of the deluge, and there shall never again be a deluge to destroy the earth."
12 And Elohim said: "This is a sign of the compact which I grant between me and you and every living creature, which is with you, to endure forever;
13 I have placed my bow in the clouds, and it shall be for a sign of the compact between me and the earth.
14 And it shall come to pass when I shall have gathered together the cloud above the earth, the bow will appear in the cloud.
15 And I will call to mind the compact which is between me and you, and every living being of all flesh, and there shall be no more waters of a deluge to destroy all flesh.

16 And the bow shall be in the cloud, and I will look upon it to remind me of the perpetual compact between Elohim and every living being of all flesh, which is upon the earth."

17 And Elohim said to Nôaḥ: "This is the sign of the compact which I have established between me and all flesh, which is upon the earth."

VIII.

THE CURSE OF KENÂ'AN.

(JEHOVIST SOURCE.)

CHAP. IX. 18. And the sons of Nôaḥ, who came out of the ark, were Shêm, Ḥâm and Yâpheth, and Ḥâm is the father of Kenâ'an.

19 These three are the sons of Nôaḥ, and from them all the earth was peopled.

20 And Nôaḥ began to be a cultivator of the ground, and he planted the vine;

21 And he drank wine, and became drunken, and uncovered himself in the midst of his tent.

22 And Ḥâm, the father of Kenâ'an, saw the nakedness of his father, and he told of it without to his two brothers.

23 Then Shêm and Yâpheth took the cloak and laid it upon their two shoulders; and they walked backward and covered the nakedness of their father; and their face was

turned to the other side, and they saw not
the nakedness of their father.
24 And Nôaḥ awoke from his drunkenness, and
knew that which his youngest son had
done to him;
25 and he said: "Cursed be Kenâ'an! Let him
be the slave of the slaves of his brothers!"
26 And he said: "Blessed be Yahveh, the god
of Shêm! and may Kenâ'an be their
slave!
27 May Elohim(1) enlarge Yâpheth, and may he
dwell in glorious tents,(2) and may Kenâ'an
be their slave!"

(1) Elohim is used here in the verse relating to Yâpheth, because that is the universal name of God in connection with the Gentiles, whereas that of Yahveh is peculiar to the chosen people, who ascribe their origin to Shêm.

(2) Literally "tents of glory;" this is the most simple and natural interpretation, and much more probable than that current in the majority of versions, "that he may dwell in the tents of Shêm."

IX.

THE PEOPLES DESCENDED FROM NOAH.

(ELOHIST SOURCE.)

CHAP. X. 1. This is "The genealogy of the sons of Nôaḥ, Shêm, Ḥâm and Yâpheth." And sons were born to them after the deluge.

2 The sons of Yâpheth: Gômer and Mâgôg and Mâdaï and Yâvân and Tûbâl and Meshek and Tîrâs.

3 The sons of Gômer: Ashkenaz and Rîphath and Tôgarmâh.

4 And the sons of Yâvân: Elîshâh and Tarshîsh, the Kittîm and the Dodânîm.

5 By these were peopled the islands of the nations by countries, according to the language of each, according to their families, by nations.

6 The sons of Ḥâm: Kûsh and Miçraîm and Pûṭ and Kenâ'an.

7 And the sons of Kûsh: Sebâ and Ḥavîlâh and Sabtâh and Ra'emâh, and Sabtekâ;—

and the sons of Ra'emâh: Shebâ and
Dedân.
8 [(1) And Kûsh begat Nimrôd, and he be-
gan to be a hero (*gibbôr*) on the earth;
9 he was a hero-huntsman before Yahveh;
therefore it is said "like Nimrôd, hero-
huntsman before Yahveh."
10 And the beginning of his royalty was Bâbel
and Erek, and Akkad, and Kalnêh, in the
land of Shîn'âr.
11 From this land came out Asshûr, and he
built Nînevêh and Reḥôbôth-'Îr and Kâ-
12 laḫ and Resen between Nînevêh and Kâ-
laḫ: that is the great city.]
13 And Miçraîm begat the Lûdîm and the
'Anâmîm and the Lehâbîm and the
Naphtûḥîm
14 and the Pathrûsîm and the Kaslûḥîm;
from whom came forth the Pelishtim, and
the Kaphtôrîm.
15 And Kenâ'an begat Çîdôn, his first born,
and Ḫêth
16 and the Yebûsî and the Emôrî and the
Girgâshî
17 and the Ḥivvî and the 'Arqî and the Sînî
18 and the Arvâdî and the Çemârî and the

(1) These five verses manifestly constitute an intercalation, originally foreign to the genealogy of the sons of Nôa'ḥ, and drawn from the Jehovist document.

Ḫamâthî, and afterwards the families of
the Kena'anî were scattered,
19 and the borders of the Kena'anî reached from
Çîdôn unto 'Azzâh, going towards Gerâr,
and as far as Lesha', going toward Sedôm
and 'Amôrâh and Admâh and Çebôîm.
20 These are the children of Ḥâm according to
their families, according to their languages,
in their countries, in their nations;
21 [and there were some born also of Shêm,
the father of all the sons of 'Êber, and the
elder brother of Yâpheth.](1)
22 The sons of Shêm: 'Êlâm and Asshûr and
Arphakshad and Lûd and Arâm.
23 And the sons of Arâm: 'Ûç, Ḥûl, Gether
and Mash.
24 And Arphakshad begat Shelaḥ, and Shelaḥ
begat 'Êber;
25 and of 'Êber were born two sons: the name
of the one Peleg, because that in these
days the earth was divided and the name
of his brother Yâqṭân.(2)

(1) This verse deviates from the usual system of the genealogy, and manifestly constitutes an addition to the primitive document.

(2) The form of this verse, more complex than the genealogical statements in general, gives rise to strong suspicions that the primitive text has been developed by later additions.

26 And Yâqṭân begat Almôdâd and Shâleph and Ḥaçarmâveth and Yeraḫ
27 and Hadôrâm and Ȗzâl and Diqlâh
28 and 'Ôbâl and Abîmâêl and Sheba
29 and Ôphîr and Ḥavîlâh and Yôbâb; all these are the sons of Yâqṭân,
30 and their dwelling was from Mêshâ, going toward Sephâr, as far as the mountain of the East.
31 These are the children of Shêm, according to their families, according to their languages, by countries, by nations.
32 Such are the families of the sons of Nôaḥ, according to their genealogies, by their nations, and from them the nations were spread over the earth after the deluge.

X.

THE TOWER OF BABEL.

(JEHOVIST VERSION.)

CHAP. XI. 1. And all the earth had only one language and the same words.

2 And it came to pass, in their migration from the East, they found a great valley in the land of Shin'âr, and they abode there.

3 And they said one to the other: "Come! let us mould some bricks and bake them in the fire!" And brick served them for stone and asphaltum for mortar.

4 And they said: "Come! let us build a city and a tower, and let its top reach to heaven; and let us make us a name, that we may not be dispersed over the surface of all the earth."

5 And Yahveh came down to see the city and the tower, which the sons of men builded.

6 And Yahveh said: "Behold, they are a single people, and a single language is for

all, and this is the beginning of their work, and now nothing more will hinder them from accomplishing all that they shall project.

7 Come! let us go down and confound their language, that the one may no longer understand the language of the other!"

8 And Yahveh scattered them from thence over the surface of all the earth, and they stopped building the city.

9 Therefore did they call it by the name of Bâbel, because Yahveh there confounded the language of all the earth, and from thence Yahveh scattered them over all the surface of the earth.

XI.

THE ORIGIN OF THE TERAḤITES.

(ELOHIST VERSION.)

CHAP. XI. 10. This is "The genealogies of Shêm:"
Shêm was [aged] 100 years, and he begat
Arphakshad, two years after the deluge:
11 Shêm lived 500 years after having begotten
Arphakshad, and he begat sons and
daughters.
12 And Arphakshad lived 35 years, and he
begat Shelaḥ;
13 and Arphakshad lived 403 years after hav-
ing begotten Shelaḥ; and he begat sons
and daughters.
14 And Shelaḥ lived 30 years, and he begat
'Êber;
15 and Shelaḥ lived 403 years after he had
begotten 'Êber, and he begat sons and
daughters.
16 And 'Êber lived 34 years, and he begat
Peleg;

17 and ‘Eber lived 430 years after he had begotten Peleg, and he begat sons and daughters.
18 And Peleg lived 30 years, and he begat Re‘û;
19 and Peleg lived 209 years after having begotten Re‘û, and he begat sons and daughters.
20 And Re‘û lived 32 years, and he begat Serûg;
21 and Re‘û lived 207 years after having begotten Serûg, and he begat sons and daughters.
22 And Serûg lived 30 years, and he begat Nâḫôr;
23 and Serûg lived 200 years after having begotten Nâḫôr, and he begat sons and daughters.
24 And Nâḫôr lived 29 years, and he begat Teraḥ;
25 and Nâḫôr lived 119 years after having begotten Teraḥ, and he begat sons and daughters.
26 And Teraḥ lived 70 years, and he begat Abrâm and Nâḫôr and Hârân.

XII.

THE MIGRATION OF THE TERAHITES.

(ELOHIST VERSION.)

CHAP. XII. 27. This is "The genealogies of Teraḥ." Teraḥ begat Abrâm and Nâḫôr and Hârân, and Hârân begat Lôṭ.

28 And Hârân died in the presence of Teraḥ, his father, in the country of his birth, in Ûr of the Kasdîm.

29 And Abrâm and Nâḫôr took wives: the name of Abrâm's wife, Sârâï, and the name of Nâḫôr's wife, Milkâh, daughter of Hârân, father of Milkâh and father of Yiskâh.

30 And Sârâï was sterile; she had no child.

31 And Teraḥ took Abrâm, his son, and Lôṭ, the son of Hârân, his grandson, and Sârâï, his daughter-in-law, the wife of Abrâm, his son; and they departed together from Ûr of the Kasdîm to go towards the land of Kenâ‘an, and they went as far as Ḫârân and settled themselves there.

32 And the days of Teraḥ were 205 years, and Teraḥ died at Ḫârân.

COMPARATIVE STUDY

OF

THE BIBLICAL ACCOUNT

AND OF

PARALLEL TRADITIONS.

CHAPTER I.

THE CREATION OF MAN.

According to the ideas commonly prevailing among the peoples of antiquity, man is regarded as autochthonous, or issued from the earth which bears him. Rarely, in the accounts which treat of his first appearance, do we discover a trace of the notion which supposes him to be created by the omnipotent operation of a deity, who is personal and distinct from primordial matter. The fundamental concepts of pantheism and emanatism, upon which were based the learned and proud religions of the ancient world, made it possible to leave in a state of vague uncertainty the origin and production of men. They were looked upon, in common with all things, as having sprung from the very substance of the divinity, which was confounded with the world; this coming forth had been a spontaneous action, through the development of the chain of emanations, and not the result of a free and determinate act of creative will, and there was very little anxiety shown to define, otherwise than under a symbolical and mythological form,

the manner of that emanation which took place by a veritable act of spontaneous generation.

"Of the wind Colpias (the voice of the breath, *Qôl-pîaḥ*) and his spouse Baau (chaos, *Bahû*)," says one of the fragments of Phœnician cosmogony, translated into Greek, which have come down to us under the name of Sanchoniathon,(1) "was born the human and mortal pair of Protogonos (the first-born, *Âdâm-Qadmûn*) and Æon (*Ḥavâth*), and Æon found out how to eat the fruit of the tree. Their children were Genos and Genea (*Qên* and *Qênâth*), who dwelt in Phœnicia, and, overcome by the heat of summer, began to lift their hands toward the sun, regarding it as the only god, lord of heaven, a belief which is expressed in the name Beelsamên (*Ba'al-Shamêm*)."(2) In another fragment of the same cosmogonies(3) the birth of "the autochthonous issue of the earth" (*Γήϊνος Αὐτόχθων, hâ'âdâm min-hâ'adâmâth*), from whom springs the race of men, is touched upon. The traditions of Libya made the first human being, Iarbas, spring from the plains heated by the sun, and gave him for food the sweet acorns of the oak tree.(4) According to the ideas of the Egyptians, we are told (5) that "the fertilizing mud left by the Nile, and exposed to the vivifying action of heat induced

(1) P. 14, Ed. Orelli: see the first appendix at the end of the volume, II. *E.*

(2) Cf. Genesis iv. 26: "Then (in the days of Shêth, after the birth of Enôsh) men began to invoke by the name of Yahveh."

(3) P. 18, Ed. Orelli; in the first appendix, II. *F.*

(4) Fragment of Pindar cited by the author of *Philosophumena*, v., 7, p. 97, ed. Miller.

(5) Same fragment; Censorin., *De die natal.*, 4; Cf. Justin., II. 1.

by the sun's rays, brought forth germs which spring up as the bodies of men." This belief, translated into a mythological form, made human beings emanate from the eye of the god Râ-'Har-em-akhuti; (1) in other words, the sun. The emanation which brings forth in such wise the material part of men, does not, however, prevent a later demiurgic operation, which gives them the finishing touches, and endows them with a soul and intellect. Among the Asiatic and Northern races of the 'Amu and the Tama'hu (corresponding to the races of Shêm and Yâpheth in the Biblical account), this operation is attributed to the goddess Sekhet, while 'Har performs the same office for the negroes. As to the Egyptians, who regarded themselves as superior to all other races, their fashioner was the supreme demiurge Khnûm, and it is in this connection that he appears upon some monuments moulding clay, wherewith to form man, upon the same potter's wheel on which he has already shaped the primordial egg of the universe.(2)

Presented in this wise, the Egyptian account bears a striking resemblance to that of the Jehovist document of Genesis,(3) wherein God "forms man out of the dust of the ground." Furthermore, the action of the modeler furnished the most natural means of representing to primitive imaginations the action of the creator or demiurge under an intelligible form.

(1) *Papyrus of Boulaq*, vol. II., pl. xi., p. 6, 1, 3.—See also E. Lefébure, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. IV., pp. 45 and 47.

(2) See Chabas, *Études sur l'antiquité historique*, p. 81.

(3) II. 4.

Thus we still find among peoples who have not yet emerged from the savage state, the same notion prevailing of man fashioned out of earth by the hand of the creator. In the cosmogony of Peru, the first man, created by the divine Omnipotence, is called *Alpa camasca*, "Animated earth."(1) Among the tribes of North America, the Mandans related that the Great Spirit moulded two figures of clay, which he dried and animated with the breath of his mouth, one receiving the name of First Man, the other that of Companion. The great god of Tahiti, Taeroa, formed man out of red earth, and the Dayaks of Borneo, proof against all Mussulman influences, go on telling from generation to generation how man was formed from earth.

We will not, however, insist too strenuously upon admitting this last category of affinities, where one might easily go astray, but confine ourselves to such as are offered by the sacred traditions of the great civilized nations of antiquity. "The Chaldeans," says an ecclesiastical writer of the first Christian centuries,(2) "call Adam the man whom the earth produced. And he lay without movement, without life, and without breath, just like an image of the heavenly Adam, until his soul had been given him by the latter."(3) Ought this to be accepted as

(1) On the other hand, a second tradition, mentioned by Avendaño (Serm. IX., p. 100, edit. of 1649), speaks of three eggs fallen from heaven, one of gold, from whence came out the Curacas or princes, the next of silver, from which the nobles originated, and the third of copper, out of which the people issued.

(2) Philosophumena, v., 7, p. 97, ed. Miller.

(3) Here we note the intervention of an idea which plays an

indeed a legacy from antiquity taught in some one of the sacerdotal schools of Chaldea, or rather as a conception of the sects of Kabbalists, a later development of the same soil, who exercised a profound influence upon the Jewish philosophy of the Middle Ages? The question is still very doubtful. In any case, the cosmogonic account peculiar to Babylon, put into Greek by Berossus, bears a much closer resemblance

important part in the Jewish Kabbala, that of Âdâm Qadmôn (Knorr de Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. I., p. 28), prototype of humanity, and at the same time primeval emanation of the Divinity, having the character of a true Logos (P. Beer, Geschichte, *Lehren und Meinungen aller religiœsen Sekten der Juden*, vol. II., p. 61; Maury, *Revue Archéologique*, 1st Series, vol. VIII., p. 239). The Ophites or Nahassenians, in the first centuries of Christianity, adopted this idea of Âdâm Qadmôn in their Adamas, in regard to whom the author of the Philosophumena furnishes us with some curious information (v., 6–9, pp. 94–119, ed. Miller), and whom they called "the man from on high," an exact translation of the Kabbala title, "the superior Adam." The Barbelonites, a branch of the Ophites, said furthermore, that Logos and Ennoia, coming together, had begotten Autogenes (Qadmôn), type of the great light, and surrounded by four cosmic luminaries, with Aletheia his spouse, of whom was born Adamas, the typical and perfect man (St. Iren., *Adv. hæres.*, 1, 29).

To what extent all this may have been borrowed from the philosophico-religious conceptions of the sanctuaries of ancient Asia it is difficult to tell. We may notice, however, that in one of the cosmogonic fragments, awkwardly pieced together, and preserved to us in the extracts from the Sanchoniathon of Philo of Byblos, as they have come down to us, Epigeios or Autochthon, that is to say, Âdâm (with the same allusion to *adâmâth* as in the text of Genesis), is born at the beginning of all things of the supreme God 'Êlioûn, and is identical with Ouranos, brother and spouse of Gê (Sanchoniat., p. 24, ed. Orelli). See our first appendix, II. *G.* Now, according to the Kabbala, Âdâm Qadmôn is a macrocosm, whence emanate the four successive degrees of the creation. (See Maury, *Revue Archéologique*, vol. VIII., pp. 238–243.)

to that which we read in the second chapter of Genesis; here again man is made of clay after the manner of a statue. "Belos (the demiurge Bel-Marduk) seeing that the earth was uninhabited, though fertile, cut off his own head, and the other gods, after kneading with earth the blood that flowed from it, formed men, who therefore are endowed with intelligence, and share in the divine thought,(1) and also the animals, who are able to live in contact with the air.(2) With the difference that the setting is polytheistic in the one case, and strictly monotheistic in the other, the facts here follow exactly the same order as in the narration of the Jehovist document of the Pentateuch. The barren earth (3) becomes fertile; (4) then man is moulded out of clay, to which are communicated the intelligent soul, and the vital breath, (5) and after him animals are formed of earth as he was,(6)

(1) The Orphics, which have borrowed so largely from the East, accepted, as regards the origin of men, the idea to which we shall recur in chapters VII. and X., that they were descended from the Titans. They said that the immaterial part of man, his soul, sprang from the blood of Dionysos Zagreus, whom these Titans had torn to pieces, partly devouring his members. (Procl., *In Cratyl.*, p. 82, cf. pp. 59 and 114; Dio Chrysost., *Orat.*, 30, p. 550; Olympiador., *In Phaedon, ap.* Mustoxyd. et Schin., *Anecdot.*, part IV., p. 4; cf. Marsil. Ficin., IX., *Ennead.* I., p. 83, sq.; Maury, *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce*, vol. III., p. 329.) This is the same idea that we find in Berossus, of the blood of a god mingling with the matter out of which men are formed, and also the physiological theory that the soul is in the blood, a theory that we find reproduced in *Genesis* ix. 4 and 5.

(2) Berossus, frag. 1; see our first appendix, I. *E.*

(3) Genesis ii. 5.

(4) Genesis ii. 6.

(5) Genesis ii. 7.

(6) Genesis ii. 19.

and actually modeled.[1] In the Elohist version of the first chapter, man is created after the animals, as being the most perfect creature issued from the hands of God, and the crown of his work. Moreover, the divine work is described in a far more spiritual manner; all the creatures, whatever they may be, spring into being at the sole word of the Eternal. In the second chapter Yahveh descends almost to the proportions of a demiurge; in the first chapter Elohim is the creator, in the full force of the term.

A young English scholar, George Smith, gifted with the most penetrative genius, who, during a very brief career, terminated suddenly by death, made his undying mark among Assyriologists, recognized the remains of a kind of cosmogonic epic of an Assyro-Babylonian Genesis, recounting the work of the seven days,[2] among the clay tablets covered with cuneiform writing, belonging to the Palace Library of Nineveh, and now in the possession of the British Museum. Each of the tablets, of which the series contained this history, bore one of the songs of the poem, one of the chapters of the narrative, giving first the generation of the gods, sprung from primordial chaos, then the successive acts of Creation, following the same order as that used in the Elohist

(1) The verb *yaçar*, used in the Biblical text to designate this formation of man and beasts, is properly that which describes the operation of the potter in modeling the clay, by pressing it between his fingers.

(2) See the first appendix at the end of this volume, I. *C.*

document of the first chapter of Genesis,(1) each act, however, being attributed to a different god. This narration appears, from marked indications,(2) to be properly an Assyrian version, for each one of the great sacerdotal schools, whose existence has become known to us in the territory of the Chaldeo-Assyrian religion, appears to have had its own particular form of cosmogonic tradition; the fundamental idea was everywhere the same, but the mythologic expression sensibly varied. The Babylonian story, made known to us by Berossus, presents some notable variations from that which we read in the documents so fortunately discovered by George Smith; and

(1) We have the fragments of two tablets which still bear their numbers in order. That of the first (1 in our appendix) is more theogonic than cosmogonic; it contains the succession of the generations of the gods, emanating from primordial chaos. This is an order of conceptions antagonistic to the monotheism of Genesis, wherein for all this exposition are substituted the two verses, i. 1 and 2. The fragment of the fifth tablet (4) belongs to the story of the placing of the celestial bodies, attributed to the god Anu; this is the work of the fourth day in Genesis (i. 14–19), and we see that in the Assyrian poem it finds its place likewise in the fourth song following that concerning Chaos. In the interval belong the fragments of two more tablets, one relating to the establishment of the foundations of the earth and of the vault of heaven by the god Asshur (2), work of the second day (*Genesis* i. 6–8); the other telling of the dividing of the continent from the seas, effected by the goddess Kishar or Sheruya (3), work of the third day (*Genesis* i. 9–10). In conclusion, a last fragment (5) belongs to a later tablet than the fifth, and begins with the creation of terrestrial animals, attributed to the combined deities, work of the sixth day (*Genesis* i. 24, 25).

(2) These indications are on the fragment which we have designated by the figure 3, and they result from the importance therein attributed to the country of Assyria.

another tablet in the British Museum yields us a shred of the tradition of the sanctuary of Kûti, the Cutha of classic geography, whose peculiar individuality is not less strongly characterised.(1) The story of the formation of man is unfortunately not included in the fragments of the Assyrian Genesis, which have so far been recognized.(2) But at least we know positively that one of the immortals who was represented therein as "having formed with his hands the race of man,"(3) as "having formed humanity to be subject to the gods,"(4) was Êa, the

(1) G. Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, pp. 102–106. [Rev. Ed., pp. 92–96. Tr.] This account treats of the generations of monstrous beings who were reputed to have sprung from the darkness of chaos, before the production of the perfect creations of the world, come at last to a regular order, beings of whom it was said that they could not endure the first manifestation of light. We read the same rendering of the story, according to the Babylonian tradition, in the first fragment of Berossus, and it appears likewise in the first Phœnician cosmogony of the extracts of Sanchoniathon (p. 10, sq., ed. Orelli). On this subject see C. W. Mansell, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1878, pp. 131–140. There again is a version which *Genesis* does not admit.

(2) Notwithstanding, in fragment 5 the creation of man is perhaps referred to in these words, which occur after the indication of the creation of terrestrial animals by the united efforts of the gods:

. . . . and the God with the piercing eye (Êa) associated them in a pair.

. . . . the collection of creeping beasts began to move. . .

(3) *Likuna va ai immašâ amatušu ina pî çalmat qaqqadu ša ibnâ qatâšu*, "that his commandment be firm and never be forgotten in the mouth of the race of men, that his two hands have formed!"

(4) *Ana padišunu ibnu amelutu*, "to be subject to them (the gods) he has formed humanity."

god of the supreme intelligence, the master of all wisdom, the "god of the pure life, director of purity,"(1) "he who raises the dead to life,"(2) "the merciful one with whom life exists."(3) Here we are given a kind of litany of gratitude, which has been preserved to us on a bit of clay tablet, that perhaps made part of a collection of cosmogonic poems.(4) One of the most usual titles of Êa is that of "Lord of the human species" (*bel tenišeti*); and more than once in the religious and cosmogonic documents there is reference to the connection between this god and "man who is his own." And in a parallel case the term employed to designate "man" in his connection with his creator, is *admu*, the Assyrian counterpart of the Hebrew *âdâm*, but at the same time a word which almost never appears elsewhere in the texts so far known. It seems, however, that this word was not the one which had been taken to form the name of the first man in the Chaldeo-Babylonian tradition. (5) The fragments of Be-

(1) *Il napišti elliti šalšiš imbû mukil telilti*, "god of the pure life, in the third place he has been named, director of purity."

(2) *Bel šipti ellitiv muballiṭ mîti*, "god of the pure charm, reviver of the dead."

(3) *Rimenû ša bulluṭu bašû ittišu.*

(4) The text in Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2d edition, p. 80, sq. The translation given in G. Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 82, sq., is very inexact. [Improved in the Rev. Ed., pp. 76 sq. Tr.] That of Oppert (in E. Ledrain, *Histoire d'Israel*, vol. I., p. 415) is infinitely superior, though not absolutely satisfactory. The fragment presents indeed great difficulties, owing to its mutilated condition.

(5) Ewald has, however, grouped some indications in such wise, as to lead one to believe that the name of Adâm as the proper name

rossus (1) give Adôros as the Grecised form of the appellation of the first of the antediluvian patriarchs,(2) and the original type of this name, Adiuru, has been discovered in the cuneiform inscriptions, where it is cited to indicate the origin itself of humanity.(3)

Among the Greeks a tradition tells how Prometheus, in the capacity of a true demiurge of the inferior order, formed man by moulding him out of clay(4) at the beginning of all things, say some(5); after the deluge of Deucalion, and the destruction of a primitive human race, according to others.(6) This legend was immensely popular during the Roman epoch, and was frequently carved upon the sarcophagi of that period. But it appears to be the product of an introduction of foreign ideas, for not a trace of it is found in earlier epochs. In the genuinely ancient Greek poetry, Prometheus does not form man, but he animates him and gifts him with intellect, by means of fire stolen from heaven, in consequence of which theft he falls a prey to the vengeance of Zeus. Such is the story of the *Prometheus* of Æschylus, as well as the rendering in Hesiod's *Works and*

of the first man, was not unknown to the Babylonians (*Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft*, VIII., 1856, pp. 153, 290).

(1) Fragments 9, 10, 11 and 12 of my edition.

(2) The confirmation of the original Babylonian form of this name has proved that the former reading of the Greek text of Berossus, ΑΛΩΡΟΣ, should be corrected to ΑΔΩΡΟΣ.

(3) See G. Smith in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. III., p. 378.

(4) The people of Phocis fabled that it was with the earth of their country: *Pausan.*, X., 4, 3.

(5) *Apollodor.*, I., 7, 1; Ovid, *Metamorph.*, I., v. 82 et seq.

(6) *Etym. Magn.*, v. Προμηθεύς; Steph., *Byz.*, v. Ἰκόνιον.

Days, which belongs to an epoch more ancient still. As to the birth of mortals, without progenitors, the oldest of all Greek legends, already regarded with scepticism by some individuals at the time when the poems adorned with the name of Homer were composed,(1) described them as issuing spontaneously, or by a voluntary act of the gods,(2) from the heated crust of the earth, or else from the rent trunk of the oak.(3) The Italiotes held also to this last origin.(4) In the Scandinavian Mythology, the gods drew the first human beings forth from the trunks of trees,(5) and the same belief existed among the Germans.(6) There are some very distinct traces of it in the Vedas of India,(7) and we shall presently

(1) *Odyss.*, T., v. 163.

(2) In Hesiod's *Works and Days,* the four successive humanities of the four ages, are created by the gods, and that of the bronze age is drawn from the oak-trees.

(3) Touching the idea of the Autochthony of the first men, thus regarded, see Welcker, *Griechische Gœtterlehre,* vol. I., pp. 777–787.

(4) Virgil, *Eneid,* VIII., v. 313 et seq.; Censorin, *De die natal,* 4.

(5) "One day Odin and his two brothers found in their road two trunks of trees, an ash and an alder. These two trunks had neither living soul, nor intelligence, nor a fair aspect. Odin endowed them with a living soul, Hœnir with intelligence, Lodur with blood and a fair aspect; these were the first man and the first woman." *Edda, Volospa,* strophe 15, 16. See Stuhr, *Nordische Alterthümer,* p. 105.

(6) J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie,* vol. I., p. 337 et seq.

(7) See the Memoir of Preller, *Die Vorstellungen der Alten, besonders der Griechen, von dem Ursprung und den æltesten Schicksalen des Menschlischen Geschlechts,* in the *Philologus* of Göttingen for the year 1852. On the subject of the various legends about men being born of trees, it is well to consult also A. De Gubernatis, *Mythologie des Plantes,* vol. I., pp. 36–44.

find it, with some most remarkable peculiarities, among the Iranians of Bactriana and Persia.(1)

The religion of Zarathustra (Zoroaster) is the only one among the learned religions of the ancient world, which refers the creation to the voluntary act of a personal god, distinct from primordial matter. Ahuramazdâ, the good and great god, is represented as creating the universe and man(2) in six successive periods, which, instead of including only one week, as in the first chapter of Genesis, make, when taken all together, a year of 365 days; (3) the creation of man finishing his work. The first of human beings who issued unblemished from the creator's hands, is called Gayômaretan, "mortal life."(4) The most ancient of the Scriptures attributed to the prophet of Irân limit their revelations to this announcement; (5) but we

(1) Another Greek tradition, which appears to be as ancient as this, makes man descend from the Titans. We will leave this unnoticed for the moment, as we shall have occasion to refer to it somewhat at length in chapters VII. and X.

(2) *Baga vazarka Auramazdâ hya imâm bumim adâ hya avam açmânam adâ hya martiyam adâ hya siyatim adâ martiyahyâ*, "Auramazdâ is the great god; he created this earth, he created this heaven, he created man, he created propitious destiny for man." Such is the profession of faith which stands at the beginning of the great official inscriptions of the Achemenidean monarchs.

(3) See Spiegel, *Avesta*, vol. III., p. lii. et seq.; *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I., p. 454 et seq.; vol. II., p. 143.

(4) In reference to this personage, it is well to consult the appendix of Windischmann's book, *Mithra, Ein Beitrag zur Mythengeschichte des Orients.* Leipzig, 1857.—For the signification of the name, see Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I., p. 510.

(5) *Yaçna*, XIV., 18; XXVI., 14 and 33; LXVII., 63; *Vispered*, XXIV., 3; *Yescht*, XIII., 86 and 87; see Spiegel, *Avesta*, vol. III., p. lv.

find a more detailed history of the origin of the human species in the book entitled *Bundehesh*, dedicated to the exposition of a complete cosmogony. This book is written in the Pahlevian tongue, and not in Zend, the language of Zoroaster's works; and the edition which we possess is posterior to the conquest of Persia by the Mussulmans. In spite of its recent date, being the work of Mazdæans, clinging with obstinate fidelity to their religion, and repelling every foreign influence, it contains traditions whose ancient and clearly indigenous character has been vouched for by competent scholars like Windischmann, Spiegel and Canon de Harlez. Criticism accepts this as an authentic source of information in regard to that portion of the records of Zoroastrianism which does not naturally find a place in the liturgic writings, sole remains of the ancient sacred literature of Irân, which have been preserved through the lapse of ages.

According to the *Bundehesh*, Ahuramazdâ completed his act of creation by producing simultaneously Gayômaretan or Gayômard, the typical man, and the typical bull, two creatures of perfect purity, who lived 3,000 years upon the earth, in a state of beatitude and without fear of evil, until the time when Angrômainyus, the representative of the evil principle, began to make his power felt in the world.(1) His first act was to strike the typical bull dead;(2) but useful plants sprang from the body of his victim,(3) as well as domestic animals.(4) Thirty

(1) Chap. I.
(2) Chap. IV.
(3) Chap. X.
(4) Chap. XIV.

years later, Gayômaretan in his turn perished at the hands of Angrômainyus.(1) Nevertheless, the seed of the typical man, shed upon the ground at the time of his death, germinated at the end of forty years. From the soil there grew up a plant of *reivas*, the *Rheum ribes* of the botanists, a kind of rhubarb, used for food by the Iranians. In the centre of this plant a stalk rose, having the double form of a man and a woman joined together at the back. Ahuramazdâ divided them, endowed them with motion and activity, placed within them an intelligent soul, and bade them "to be humble of heart; to observe the law; to be pure in their thoughts, pure in their speech, pure in their actions." Thus were born Mashya and Mashyâna, the pair from which all human beings are descended.(2) As Spiegel has remarked,(3) the succession of Gayômaretan and Mashya recalls the manner in which the genealogy of the antediluvian patriarchs in Genesis, according to the Jehovist(4) as well as the Elohist(5) document, places Enôsh after Âdâm, his name also pointing him out as "the man" *par excellence*, the primordial and typical man.(6)

The idea brought out in this story of the first human pair having originally formed a single androgynous being with two faces, separated later into two

(1) Chap. IV. (2) Chap. XV.
(3) *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I., p. 457.
(4) Genesis iv. 26. (5) Genesis v. 6–11.
(6) Gayômaretan, in this story, is very similar to the Âdâm-Qadmôn of the Kabbalists, celestial prototype of man, anterior to the terrestrial Âdâm.

personalities by the creative power, is likewise found among the Indians in the cosmogonic narration of *Çatapatha Brâhmana*.(1) The last-named writing is included in the collection of the *Rig-Vêda*, but is very much later in date than the composition of the hymns in the collection. The date of the compilation consequently wavers between the fourteenth century before our era, the approximate date of the more recent hymns, and the ninth century, when the collection of the *Rig* appears to have been definitely arranged, in all probability nearer the second than the first epoch. The story taken by Berossus from Chaldean documents also speaks of "men with two heads, one of a man, the other of a woman, united on the same body, with both sexes together," in the primitive creation born from the womb of chaos before the production of the beings who actually people the earth.(2) Plato, in his *Banquet*,(3) makes Aristo-

(1) Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, 2d edition, vol. I., p. 25.

(2) Berossus, Frag. I. See our first appendix, I. *E.*

(3) P. 189 et seq. "In the beginning there were three sexes among men, not only the two which we still find at this time, male and female, but yet a third, partaking of the nature of each, which has disappeared, only leaving its name behind. In fact, the Androgyn existed then in name and in reality, being a mixture of the male and female sexes, though to-day the word is used only as an insult. Its appearance was human, but its shape round, the back and flanks forming a circle. It had four arms and as many legs, two faces precisely alike, crowning a rounded neck, with four ears in the same head, the attributes of the two sexes, and all else in proportion. It walked upright like an ordinary man, if it so pleased, but when wishing to run rapidly, it made use of its eight members, after the fashion of acrobats, who go like a wheel." [See Jowett's *Plato*, I., p. 483. Tr.] The narrative adds that the gods, separating the two halves of the andro-

phanes to relate the history of the primordial androgyns, separated afterwards by the gods into man and woman, a story which the philosophers of the Ionian school had borrowed from Asia and introduced into Greece.(1) One of the Phœnician cosmogonies, preserved in Greek under the name of Sanchoniathon,(2) speaking of the first living beings, engendered in the womb of matter, still in the chaotic state, the Çophêshamêm, or "contemplators of the heavens," appears to describe them as androgyns, similar to those of Plato, which separated into two sexes, when the light was divided from darkness,(3) at the same time being gifted with intelligence and feeling.

Following our Vulgate version, which agrees in this with the Greek version of the Septuagint, we are in the habit of stating that according to the Bible the first woman was made of a rib taken from Adam's side. Nevertheless, there is serious reason to doubt the exactness of this interpretation. The word *çêlâ*, used here, signifies in all the other passages in the Bible where we meet with it, "side," and not "rib." Philologically, then, the most probable translation of the text of Genesis is that which we have adopted above: "Yahveh Elohim caused a deep sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept; he took one of his sides,

gyn, made them into male and female, who desire to come together in order to return to their primitive unity, whence the attraction of love.

(1) See Ch. Lenormant, *Quæstio cur Plato Aristophanem in convivium induxerit*, p. 19 et seq.

(2) It may be found farther on in the first Appendix, II. *E.*

(3) C. W. Mansell, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1878, p. 137.

and closed up the place with flesh.—And Yahveh Elohim formed the side which he had taken from man into woman, and he led her to the man.—And the man said: "Now this is bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh; this shall be called *isshâh* (woman) because she has been taken from *îsh* (man)."(1)

So much for the account in the Jehovist document; in the Elohist, we have, in the first place, "Elohim created man in his image; . . . male and female created he them."(2) The use of the plural pronoun seems at first sight to suggest the notion of a pair of two distinct individuals. But farther on this pronoun seems, on the contrary, to apply to the nature of a double being, which, being male and female, constituted a single Âdâm. "Male and female created he them, and he blessed them, and named their name Âdâm."(3) The text says *Âdâm*, and not *hâ'âdâm* with the article, and the following verse proves that the word here is taken as an appellation, a proper name, and not as a general designation of the species. Jewish tradition, too, in the Targumim and the Talmud,(4) as well as among learned philosophers like Moses Maïmonides,(5) does not hesitate to admit universally a similar interpretation, alleging that Âdâm was created man and woman at the same time, having two faces turned in two opposite directions, and that during a stupor the Creator

(1) Gen. ii. 21–23. (2) Gen. i. 28. (3) Gen. v. 2.

(4) *Berêshîth rabbâ*, sect. 8, fol. 6, col. 2; '*Erubîn*, fol. 18, *a*; *Kethubhôth*, fol. 18, *a*.

(5) *More nebushîm*, II., 30, vol. II., p. 247, of Munk's translation.

separated Ḥavvâh, his feminine half, from him, in order to make of her a distinct person.

Among Christian ecclesiastical writers of the first centuries, Eusebius of Cesarea(1) accepts likewise this interpretation of the Biblical text, and thinks that Plato's account of the primitive Androgyns agrees entirely with that in the Sacred Books.(2)

We may notice, furthermore, that the Gospel places in the mouth of Christ an allusion to the verse in Genesis on the creation of man: "Have you not read that He which made all at the beginning, made them male and female? and that He said: 'For this cause the man shall leave his father and his mother and shall cleave to his wife; and they shall be two in only one flesh? So that they are no more two, but only one flesh. What therefore God hath united let not man put asunder."(3) These words seem to claim the interpretation of the Jewish tradition, rather than that of the Latin Vulgate, for the Biblical passage to which they refer. They lose part of their force, unless this is taken as a point of departure. Plato had previously represented the two halves, henceforth divided, of the primal Androgyn seeking forever to

(1) *Præpar. Evangel.*, XII., p. 585.

(2) Several Catholic theologians have sustained and elucidated this interpretation; among others, Augustin Steuco, of Gubbio, chosen by Pope Paul III. as one of his theologians at the Council of Trent, and Prefect of the Vatican Library (*Cosmopoeia vel de Mundano Opificio*, edit. in folio, Lyons, 1535, pp. 154–156), and Pr. Francesco Giorgi, of the Order of Minor Friars (*In Scripturam Sacram et Philosophiam tria millia problemata*, l. I., sect. *De mundi fabrica*, probl. 29; Paris, 1522, in 4to, p. 5).

(3) Matt. xix. 4–6; cf. the parallel passage from Mark x. 6–9.

be joined together again in a perfect union.[1] The Saviour makes it the symbol of the sacred indissolubleness of the marriage tie.[2]

(1) "The cause of the desire for so perfect a mingling with the beloved person, that the two may henceforth be one, arises from the fact that our primitive nature was one and that we were beforetime an entirely perfect being. The desire for and the pursuit of this unity is called love." *Banquet*, p. 192. [See Jowett's *Plato*, I., p. 486. Tr.]

(2) It is evident, moreover, that in the thought which dictated the sequence of facts to the author of the ancient Jehovist document, as well as in that which governed the course of the final redactor of Genesis in making use of this document, the creation of the bodies of man and woman united in one, whence Havvâh should subsequently be derived, was intended to demonstrate emphatically the primordial equality established by God between the human pair. The woman is given to the man as "a help *meet* for him" (Gen. ii. 18 and 20), and if she is subsequently subordinated to him, it is the special punishment for her share in the first sin (Gen. iii. 16).

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST SIN.

THE idea of the Edenic happiness of the first human beings constitutes one of the universal traditions. Among the Egyptians, the terrestrial reign of the god Râ, who inaugurated the existence of the world and of human life, was a golden age to which they continually looked back with regret and envy; to assert the superiority of anything above all that imagination could set forth, it was sufficient to affirm that "its like had never been seen since the days of the god Râ."(1)

This belief in an age of happiness and of innocence in the infancy of mankind may likewise be found among all peoples of the Aryan or Japhetic race. It was among the beliefs held by them anterior to their dispersion, and it has been long since remarked by all scholars, that this is one of the points where their traditions find themselves most evidently on common ground with the Semitic stories which we find in Genesis.(2)

(1) Maspéro, *Histoire Ancienne des peuples de l' Orient*, p. 38.

(2) See Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israël*, 2d Edit., vol I., p. 342 et seq. [3d Edit., vol. I., pp. 366 et seq. Eng Trans., vol. I., pp. 256 et seq. TR.]—Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I., p. 528 et seq. [1st Ed.]—E. Burnouf, *Bhâgavata Pourâna*, vol. III., Preface, p. xlviii. et seq.—Spiegel, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. V., p. 229.—Maury, article *Age*,

But among the Aryan nations this belief is intimately connected with a conception which is peculiar to them, that of the four successive ages of the world. We find this conception most thoroughly developed in India. Created things, including humanity, are destined to endure 12,000 divine years, each one of which comprises 360 years of man. This enormous period of time is divided into four ages or epochs: the age of perfection, or Kritayuga; the age of the triple sacrifice, meaning the perfect fulfilling of all religious duties, or Trêtayuga; the age of doubt and growing obscurity as to religious ideas, or Dvaparayuga; and finally the age of perdition, or Kaliyuga, which is the age now in progress, and which will end in the destruction of the world.(1) Among the Greeks, in Hesiod's *Works and Days*,(2) we have exactly the same succession of ages, but their length is not reckoned in years, and the creation of a new human race is supposed to take place at the beginning of each. The gradual degeneracy which marks this succession of ages is expressed by the metals, the names of which are applied to them—gold, silver, brass and iron. Our present human condition is the age of iron, the worst of all, even though it did begin with the heroes. The Zoroastrian Mazdæism (Ma-

in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle; Histoire des religions de la Grèce*, vol. I., p. 371.—Renan, *Histoires des langues sémitiques*, 1st Edit., p. 457. [4th Edit., p. 484. Tr.]

(1) Thus it is that the system is explained in the Laws of Manu: I., 68–86.—For its ulterior developments, see Wilson, *Vishnu Purâna*, pp. 23–26 and 259–271; cf. p. 632. [Ed. 1840.]

(2) V. 108–199.

gism) likewise admits a theory of the four ages,(1) which we find elucidated in the *Bundehesh*,(2) but in a form more nearly related to Hesiod's than to the Indian exposition, and devoid of the spirit of dreary fatalism which distinguishes the latter. The duration of the universe is there fixed at 12,000 years, divided into four periods of 3,000. During the first, all is pure; the good god, Ahuramazdâ, reigns alone over his creation, where evil has never yet shown itself; during the second age, Angrômainyus comes forth from the darkness where he has hitherto remained quiescent, and declares war against Ahuramazdâ;(3) then it is that their struggle of 9,000 years begins, filling three ages of the world. During 3,000 years Angrômainyus is unsuccessful; for another 3,000 years the success of the two principles is equally balanced; finally evil carries the day in the last age, which is the historic one; but the contest is destined to end in the final defeat of Angrômainyus, which will be followed by the resurrection of the dead, and the eternal beatitude of the just, who are restored to life.(4) The coming of the prophet of Irân, Zarathustra (Zoroaster), is placed at the end of the third age, precisely at the middle point of the period of 6,000 years, assigned to the human race

(1) Theopompus, cited by the author of the treatise "*On Isis and Osiris*," attributed to Plutarch (c. 47), makes mention of the doctrine as existing among the Persians. For further details, consult on this point the memoir of Spiegel entitled *Studien über das Zend-Avesta*, vol. V. of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*

(2) Chap. XXXIV. (3) *Bundehesh* I. (4) *Bundehesh*, XXXI.

in its present conditions;(1) and each of the millenniums that follow will also end with the appearance of a prophet, first Ukchyat-creta, next Ukchyat-nemô, and finally Çaoshyant, who is destined to gain the final victory over the evil principle.

Some too daring scholars, like Ewald(2) and M. Maury,(3) have striven to discover in the general economy of Biblical history traces of this system of the four ages of the world. But the impartial critic is forced to acknowledge that they have not been successful. The constructions upon which they have essayed to base their demonstrations are absolutely artificial, in contradiction with the spirit of the Biblical narrative, and they crumble of themselves.(4) M. Maury indeed

(1) Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I., p. 507.

(2) *Geschichte des Volkes Israël*, 2d Ed., vol. I., pp. 342–348. [3d Ed., vol. I., pp. 366–373. Engl. Trans., vol. I., pp. 256–260. Tr.]

(3) In the article *Age*, in the *Encyclopédie Nouvelle*.

(4) Ewald counts thus the four ages of the world, which he believes that he makes out in the Bible: 1st, from the Creation to the Deluge; 2d, from the Deluge to Abrâhâm; 3d, from Abrâhâm to Môsheh; 4th, ever since the Mosaic dispensation. The epochs thus determined bear not the faintest resemblance to the ages of Hesiod or of the Laws of Manu. It is well, besides, to note that wherever we encounter, as among the Indians, the Iranians and the Greeks, the simultaneous existence of the theory of the four ages of the world and the tradition of the deluge, they are absolutely independent of each other, and without connection, a circumstance indicating a separate origin, springing from two sources which have nothing in common. Nowhere does the deluge coincide with the transition from one age of the world to another.

Nevertheless, there is one point where a similarity may be established between the Indian narrations and those of the Bible. The Laws of Manu say that in the four successive ages of the world the length of human life went on decreasing in the pro-

is the first to recognize the fundamental opposition between the Biblical tradition and the legends of Brahmanic India or of Hesiod.(1) In the last, as he remarks, "there is no trace of a predisposition to sin, transmitted as a heritage by the first man to his descendants, not a vestige of original sin." Doubtless, as Pascal has so eloquently said, "the knot of our condition does so wind and twist itself within this gulf that man becomes more incomprehensible without this mystery than this mystery is incomprehensible to man;" but the truth of the Fall and of the original taint is one against which human pride is most prone to revolt, that which it first attempts to put aside. And of all primitive traditions concerned with the infancy of humanity, this one it is which is most quickly forgotten. Men have repudiated it ever since they have felt within them the risings of that sentiment of pride which gave the

portion of 4, 3, 2, 1; in the Bible, the Antediluvian Patriarchs lived about 900 years, except Ḥanôk, who was taken up alive to Heaven. Afterwards, Shêm lived 600 years; his first three descendants between 430 and 460, and the length of the lives of the four following generations is between 200 and 240 years; finally, beginning with Abrâhâm, the existence of the Patriarchs approaches the normal conditions, and the maximum does not reach 200 years.

The Chaldean traditions also admit this gradual decrease of human existence, but add on many more ciphers at the beginning. Thus the first postdiluvian king reigned, according to Berossus (ap. Eusebius, *Chronic. Armen.*, I., 4, p. 17, ed. Mai.), 2,400 years and his son 2,700.

On an analogous indication in an original cuneiform fragment, see G. Smith, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. III., p. 371.

(1) *Histoire des religions de la Grèce*, vol. I., p. 371.

inspiration to the progress of their civilization, their conquests over the material world. The religious philosophies which took root outside of that revelation whose depository was among the Chosen People, made no account whatever of the Fall. How, in fact, could this doctrine have been made to fit in with the dreams of pantheism and emanation?

In rejecting the idea of original sin, and in substituting the doctrine of emanation for that of creation, the majority of the peoples of pagan antiquity were led to the dreary conclusion inherent in the theory of the four ages, as admitted by the books of the Hindus and the poetry of Hesiod. This is the law of degeneracy and continuous deterioration which the ancient world seems to have felt weighing so heavily upon it. In proportion as time passes, and all things depart farther and farther from their focus of emanation, they become corrupted and grow worse and worse. It is the result of an inexorable destiny and of the very force of their development. In this fatal evolution toward decline, there is no place left for human liberty; everything turns in a circle, from which there is no means of escape. With Hesiod each age marks a decadence from the preceding one, and, as the poet clearly shows, in the case of the Iron Age, initiated by heroes, each one of them taken separately follows the same downward course that characterizes the whole race.(1) In India, the idea of the four ages, or

(1) The same idea is found again in the Egyptian account of the succession of the terrestrial reigns of the gods, the demi-gods,

yugas, gives birth, in the development and production of its natural consequences, to that of the *manvantaras.* In this new conception, the world, after having completed its four ages, always deteriorating, is subjected to a dissolution, *pralaya,* when matter has arrived at such a pitch of corruption that it can subsist no longer; then begins a new universe, with a new humanity, restricted to the same cycle of necessary and fatal evolutions, passing in their turn through their four *yugas,* until a new season of disintegration and dissolution comes; and so on, ad infinitum. This is the fatality of destiny under the most cruelly inexorable form, which is at the same time the most destructive to all true morality. For where there is no liberty, there is no longer any responsibility; where corruption is the effect of an unalterable law of evolution, neither good nor evil have any longer a real existence.

How much more consoling is the Bible theory, which at first sight seems so revolting to human

heroes, and men, as collected from the fragments of Manetho, corroborated by the testimony of native texts.

Though inferior to the two preceding, the third of those periods anterior to the mortal kings, that of the 'Hor-shesu or "Servants of Horus," called curiously enough Mânes, Νέκυες, instead of Heroes (see Goodwin, *Zeitschrift für Ægyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde,* 1867, p. 49), in the fragments of Manetho, yet appears as an age far superior to ours, an age of happiness and relative perfection (Chabas, *Études sur l'antiquité historique,* p. 7 et seq.). An inscription at Tombos, in Nubia, dating from the reign of Tahutmes I., says: "This is what was seen in the times of the gods, when were the 'Hor-shesu," by way of describing some perfect condition (Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ægypten und Æthiopien,* Part III., pl. v., *a*).

pride, and what incomparable moral perspectives it opens to the soul! It admits that man is fallen; that almost immediately after his creation he lost his original purity and his Edenic felicity. In virtue of the law of heredity, which is everywhere stamped upon nature, the fault committed by the first ancestors of humanity, in the exercise of their moral liberty, has condemned their descendants to suffering, and predisposes them to sin by the transmission of the original stain. But this predisposition to sin does not fatally condemn man to commit it; he can escape from it by the choice of his free will; thus, by his personal efforts he may lift himself gradually out of the state of material deterioration and misery to which he has descended through the fault of the authors of his being. The four ages of the pagan conception unfold a picture of ever-increasing degeneracy. All the economy of the Bible history, from the first chapters of Genesis, offers us the spectacle of a continuous uplifting of the human race, starting from its original fall. On the one hand, the march is forever downward; on the other, forever upward. The Old Testament, as a whole, takes but small account of this upward march, as affected by the development of material civilization, whose chief landmarks it nevertheless incidentally notices in a strikingly exact manner. What it does follow, step by step, is the picture of moral progress, and the development, more and more evident, as time goes on, of religious truth, the conception of which grows in spirituality, constantly becoming purer and broader, among the chosen people,

in a succession of steps, which are marked by the calling of Abrâhâm; the promulgation of the Mosaic Law; finally, the mission of the prophets, who in their turn announce the last and supreme attainment in this progress, resulting from the Advent of the Messiah; and the consequences of this last act of Providence will go on forever expanding in the world, tending to a perfection which has the infinite for its goal. This idea of recovery after a fall, the fruit of the free efforts of man, assisted by divine grace, and working within the limits of his strength for the consummation of the providential plan, the Old Testament exhibited in only one people, Israel. But the spirit of Christianity has broadened the outlook so as to include the universal history of the human race. And thus has been born the conception of that law of constant progress, unknown to antiquity, to which our modern society is so unalterably attached, but which, and that we should never forget, is the offspring of Christianity.(1)

Let us turn now to the traditions of the first sin,

(1) Need I add that I reject with all the energy of my nature that theory of degeneracy, so eloquently expounded by Joseph de Maistre in the *Soirées de Saint-Pétersbourg*, which in our days has unfortunately misled so many intellects, carried away by regret for a past which is entirely the creature of their imaginations? This theory, as untenable in a scientific point of view as it is philosophically monstrous, against which all the generous instincts of man revolt, is nothing but the renewal of the dreary conception of paganism as to the general march of history. It is curious that its author has never become aware of this. But his talent surpassed his science and overpowered his common sense, and I, for one, will never count myself among his disciples.

parallel to that one in Genesis, the account of which appertains to the Jehovist document.

Zoroastrianism could not fail to admit this traditional story, and to preserve it. It would have created an analogous myth out of whole cloth, had one not been found ready to hand among the antique records, which it accommodated to its doctrine. This tradition fitted, in truth, too well into its system of dualism (on a spiritual foundation, though but partially freed from the confusion between the physical and moral worlds), for it explained in the most natural way how it was that man, a creature of the good god, and consequently perfect in his origin, had fallen in part under the power of the evil spirit, contracting thus the taint which made him subject to sin in the moral order, and in the natural order liable to death and to all the miseries which poison life on earth. The conception of the sin of the first authors of humanity, the heritage of which weighs unceasingly upon their descendants, is also a fundamental idea of the Mazdæan (magian) books. The modification of the legends relating to the first man, in the mythical forms of the last period of Zoroastrianism, even end by leading to a rather singular repetition of this remembrance of the first sin by several consecutive generations in the opening ages of human life.

Originally—and this, at present, is one of the most firmly established of all points for science(1)—

(1) Windischmann, *Ursagen der Arischen Völker*, in vol. XXX. of the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Bavière;* Roth, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlændischen Gesellschaft*, vol. IV., p. 417 et seq.;

originally in those legends common to oriental Aryans prior to their separation into two branches, the first man was the personage called by the Iranians Yima, and by the Hindus Yama. Son of heaven and not of man, Yima united in his one individuality those characteristics bestowed in Genesis separately upon Âdâm and Nôaḥ, the fathers of the two races of men, the antediluvian and the postdiluvian.[1] Later he appears merely as the first king of the Iranians, although a king whose existence, like that of his subjects, is passed in the midst of Edenic beatitude, in the paradise of the Airyana-Vaedja,(2) abode of the earliest men. But after a season of pure and blameless living, Yima commits the sin which is to burden his descendants; and this sin, which causes him to lose his authority, and, driving him outside the paradisaic land, gives him over to the power of the serpent, the wicked spirit, Angrômainyus,(3) who ends by destroying him amid horrible torments.(4) We find an echo of this tradition of the loss of paradise in consequence of a misdeed prompted by the evil spirit in a fragment, incontestably one of the most ancient contained in

Ad. Kuhn, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte der Indogermanische Völker*, in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, vol. IV., Part 2; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I., p. 519, [1st Ed.] furnish the proofs for the assertions which we can state but cursorily.

(1) See de Harlez, *Avesta*, vol. I., p. 89; Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I., p. 439.

(2) *Vendidad*, II.; it is also related here how Yima preserved the germs of men, animals and plants from the deluge. See furthermore *Yesht*, v. 25–27; ix. 8–12; xv. 15–17; *Bundehesh*, xvii.

(3) *Yesht*, xix. 31–38; *Bundehesh*, xxiii. and xxxiii.; Sadder, 94.

(4) *Yesht*, xix. 46.

the collection of the sacred writings of the Zoroastrians: (1) "I have created the first and the best of places and abodes, I, who am Ahuramazdâ: the Airyana-Vaedja of excellent nature. But in opposition to it, Angrômainyus, the murderer, created a hostile thing, the serpent, issue of the river, and the winter, work of the Daevas." And this latter scourge it is, resulting from the power of the serpent, which compels the abandonment forever of the paradisaical region.

Still later, Yima is no longer the first man, nor even the first king. The period of a thousand years attributed to his Edenic existence (2) is divided among several successive generations, which are spread over that length of time, commencing with the day when Gayômaretan, the typical man, begins to be the object of the hostile efforts of the evil spirit, and ending with the death of Yima. (3) This is the system adopted by the *Bundehesh.* The story of the misdeed which cost Yima his Edenic happiness, by putting him in the power of his enemy, is always connected with this hero's name. But this error is now no longer the first sin, and that it may be fastened upon the ancestors from whom all men are descended, it is made double use of by being related previously of a first pair whose existence is altogether terrestrial and similar to that of other men, namely, Mashya and Mashyâna.

(1) *Vendidâd,* I., 5–8.

(2) *Yesht,* xvii. 30. It is very noticeable that the life of Adâm, which, according to Genesis, lasted 930 years, almost coincides with this period.

(3) See Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde,* vol. I., p. 504.

"Man was, the father of the world was. He was destined for heaven on condition that he should be humble of heart; that he should fulfil the work of the law with humility; that he should be pure in his thoughts, pure in his speech, pure in his actions, and that he should not call upon the Daevas. With such inclinations, man and woman ought reciprocally to promote each other's happiness, and such indeed were their thoughts in the beginning; such their actions. They came together as man and wife.

"At the first their speech was in this wise: 'Ahuramazdâ gave the water, the land, the trees, the animals, the stars, the moon, the sun, and all good gifts which come of a pure root and of a pure fruit.' Afterward a lie crept into their thoughts and changed their natures, saying to them: 'It is Angrômainyus who has given the water, the land, the trees, the animals, and all that has been called by a name on the earth.' Thus it was that at the beginning Angrômainyus deceived them in regard to the Daevas, and cruelly sought to beguile them to the end. In consequence of believing in this lie, both of them became like the demons, and their souls will be in hell until the renewal of the body.

"They ate for thirty days, covered with black raiment. After these thirty days they went to the chase; a white she-goat appeared before them; they drew milk from her breasts with their mouths, and were nourished by this milk, which gave them much pleasure. . . . .

"The Daeva who told the lie became bolder; appeared a second time before them, *and brought*

them fruits of which they ate, and in consequence of this, of the hundred advantages which they enjoyed, but one remained to them.

"After thirty days and thirty nights, a sheep, fat and white, appeared before them; they cut off his left ear. Taught by the heavenly Yazatas, they drew fire from the tree Konar by rubbing it with a fragment of wood. Both of them set fire to the tree; they quickened the fire with their mouth. They burned first bits of the tree Konar, afterwards of the date and myrtle trees. They roasted this sheep, which they divided in three portions.(1) . . . Having eaten dog's flesh, they covered themselves with the skin of the animal. They then betook themselves to the chase and made themselves clothes of the skin of the deer."(2)

We may observe that here, just as in Genesis, vegetable food alone is used by the first man in his state of purity and beatitude, the only kind allowed him by God,(3) animal food only becoming lawful after the deluge.(4) It was after their sin also that Âdâm and Ḥavvâh covered themselves with their first garments, which Yahveh himself fashioned for them out of the skins of beasts.(5)

Not less striking is the story we meet with in the mythical traditions of the Scandinavians, preserved

(1) In the *Yaçna* (xxxii. 8) it is Yima who teaches men to cut meat into bits, and to eat it. Windischmann (*Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 27) has compared this, with reason, with Genesis ix. 3.

(2) *Bundehesh*, xv.

(3) Genesis i. 29; ii. 9 and 16; iii. 2.

(4) Genesis ix. 3.

(5) Genesis iii. 21.

in the *Edda* of Snorro Sturleson,(1) which belongs to the cycle of Germanic legends also.(2) The scene is not laid among mortals, but among beings of the divine race, the Asas. The immortal Idhunna dwelt with Bragi, the first of the skalds, or inspired singers, at Asgard, in Midhgard, the middle of the world, the paradise, in a state of perfect innocence. The gods had confided the apples of immortality to her care; but Loki, the crafty, the author of all evil, representative of the wicked principle, beguiled her with other apples, which he found, as he said, in a wood. She followed him thither to gather them; but she was suddenly carried off by a giant, and happiness no longer abode in Asgard.

George Smith, among the fragments of the Chaldeo-Assyrian Genesis discovered by him, believed that one might be interpreted as referring to the fall of the first man, and that it contained the curse pronounced against him by the god Êa, after his sin.(3) But this was an illusion, which has been dispelled upon a closer study of the cuneiform document. Smith's translation, too hasty and immature, and scarcely intelligible beside, was erroneous from beginning to end.(4) Since then, Oppert has given

(1) *Gylfaginning*, strophe 26 and 33; *Bragarœdhur*, strophe 56.

(2) Raszmann, *Deutsche Heldensage*, vol. I., p. 55.

(3) *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, pp. 83 et seq. [Rev. Ed., pp. 75 et seq., where Sayce agrees with Oppert in interpreting the tablet as a hymn to the god Êa. Tr.] The original text is published in Friedrich Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2d Ed., p. 81.

(4) Friedrich Delitzsch made the same remark in the notes of his German translation of Smith's book (p. 301).

an entirely different rendering of the same text,(1) the first of a really scientific character, in which the sense begins to show itself quite distinctly, though a number of obscure and uncertain details still remain. One point at least is settled, as far as we have gone, which is that this fragment has nothing whatever to do with the first sin and the curse of man. Hence we must absolutely exclude it from the range of our researches, and strive to warn all who may be tempted to use it in Bible commentary, on the authority of the English Assyriologist who attributed to it such a significance.

We have, then, no distinct and direct proof that the tradition of the first sin, as related in our Sacred Books, formed a part of the Babylonian and Chaldean accounts of the origin of the world and of man. Nor do we find the least allusion to it in the fragments of Berossus. This silence to the contrary notwithstanding, the parallelism of the Chaldean and Hebrew traditions, on this point as on others, has in its favor a probability so great that it is almost equivalent to a certainty.(2) Farther on we will refer to certain very convincing proofs of the existence of myths relating to the terrestrial paradise in the sacred traditions of the lower basin of the Euphrates and Tigris.(3) But it is expedient that we should pause a moment to study the representations of

(1) In E. Ledrain's *Histoire d'Israël,* vol. I., p. 416 et seq.

(2) See what Friedrich Delitzsch says on this subject: G. Smith's *Chaldæische Genesis,* p. 305 et seq.

(3) See Fr. Lenormant's *Essai de Commentaire des fragments cosmogonique de Bérose,* pp. 316–323.

the mysterious and sacred plant, seen so often upon Assyrian bas-reliefs, guarded by celestial genii.(1) So far, no inscription has come to light which might explain the meaning of this symbol, and we can but deplore such a lack, which will, however, doubtless be eventually supplied by new documents. But from the study of the sculptured monuments alone, it is impossible to doubt the great importance of this sacred plant. Whether represented by itself, as sometimes is the case,(2) adored by royal figures,(3) or else, as I just remarked, guarded by genii in an attitude of adoration, this is incontestably one of the most lofty of religious emblems, and by way of stamping it with such a character, we frequently observe the symbolic image of the supreme deity, the wingèd disk, floating above the plant, surmounted or not, as the case may be, by a human bust.(4) The cylinders of Babylonian or Assyrian workmanship present this emblem quite as frequently as do the bas-reliefs in the Assyrian palaces, and always under the same conditions, and with attributes of equal significance.(5)

It is difficult not to connect this mysterious plant, which in every way asserts itself as a religious symbol of the first class, with the famed trees of Life and Knowledge which play so important a part in

(1) Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, pl. 6, 7, 8, 9, 39, 44 and 47; Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, vol. II., pl. 139, 2.

(2) Botta, vol. II., pl. 119.

(3) Layard, pl. 25.

(4) Layard, pl. 6 and 39.

(5) Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xvii., No. 5; xxvi., No. 8; xxvii., No. 2; liv., No. 5; liv. B, No. 3.

the story of the first sin.(1) All the traditions of paradise make mention of it; the tradition of Genesis, which at times appears to admit two trees, one of Life and one of Knowledge,(2) and again seems to speak of one only, uniting in itself both attributes,(3) in the midst of the garden of Eden; the tradition of India, which calls this tree Kalpavrikcha, Kalpadruma or Kalpataru, "tree of desires or of times," and speaks of four of them, planted upon the four spurs of Mount Mêru;(4) and, finally, the tradition of the Iranians, which speaks at times of one tree springing out of the very midst of the holy fount Ardvî-çûra, in the Airyana-vaedja;(5) at times again of two, corresponding exactly with those described in the Gan-'Êden of the Bible.(6) Such a correspondence is all the more natural, since the Sabæans or Mandaïtes, sectaries who are three parts pagan, inhabiting the environs of Bassorah, and who preserve a great

(1) See Fr. Lenormant's *Essai de Commentaire des fragments de Bérose*, pp. 323–330; Ewald, *Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, vol. III., p. 72; E. Schrader, in the *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, vol. I., p. 124 et seq.; W. von Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. II., p. 189 et seq.

(2) Genesis ii. 9.

(3) Genesis ii. 17; iii. 1–7.

(4) See Guigniaut's *Religions de l'Antiquité*, vol. I., pp. 582–584; Obry, *Du berceau de l'espèce humaine*, p. 20.

(5) *Bundehesh*, xxviii.

(6) Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 165–177; Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I., p. 465. It was evidently from the Iranians that a part of the Tatar populations of Siberia received the notion of the tree of life, which occupies an important place in their popular traditions (A. Schiefner, *Heldensagen der Minussinischen Tataren*, p. 62 et seq.).

number of religious Babylonish traditions, are also familiar with the Tree of Life, designating it in their books under the name of Setarvan, "that which gives shade."(1) The most ancient name of Babylon, in the idiom of the Antesemitic population, Tin-tir-kî, signifies "the place of the tree of life."(2) In conclusion, as has been well observed by Schrader,(3) the figure of the sacred plant, which we connect with the tree of the Edenic traditions, appears as a symbol of eternal life upon the curious sarcophagi of enameled pottery belonging to the last epoch of Chaldean civilization, posterior to Alexander the Great, which have been discovered at Warka, the ancient Uruk. (4)

The manner of representing this sacred plant varies on different Assyrian bas-reliefs, being more

(1) Norberg, *Codex Nasaræus*, vol. III., p. 68; *Onomast ad Codic. Nasar.*, p. 117.

(2) In fact, *tin* is the word "life" (Cuneiform Syllabary, A, No. 153; see Fr. Lenormant, *Etudes sur quelques parties des Syllabaires cunéiformes*, § ix.); *tir* means "tree," or rather "grove, clump of trees" (Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, p. 120); in conclusion, nothing is better known than the sense of the word *kî*, "land" and "place" (Syllabary, A, Nos. 182 and 183). All the premature interpretations given to the name Tir-tin-kî, in the beginning of the deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions, such as "gate of life" (H. Rawlinson), "gate of justice" (Finzi), "city of the root of languages" (Fr. Lenormant), "city of the saved tribe" (Oppert), were absolutely false, and should be rejected, as well as the consequences which it was imagined could be built upon these vicious foundations.

(3) *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, vol. I., p. 125.

(4) Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 203 et seq.; Birch, *History of Ancient Pottery*, vol. I., p. 150.

or less complex.(1) It, however, always appears as a plant of medium height, inclining to a pyramidal shape, having a trunk furnished with numerous branches, and at its base a bunch of broad leaves. In a single instance,(2) its vegetable species seems to be very accurately defined; it is easy to recognize the *Asclepias acida* or *Sarcostemma viminalis* of the botanists,(3) the Soma plant of the Aryans of India and the Haoma of the Iranians, whose limbs, when incised, furnish the intoxicating liquor which is offered in libation to the gods, and which is identified with the celestial drink of life and immortality. But far more frequently the sacred plant assumes a conventional and decorative aspect, which corresponds exactly with no type in nature.(4) Now, it is precisely this wholly conventional figure, borrowed by the Persians from Assyro-Babylonian art, which represents Haoma on the gems, cylinders or cones of Persian workmanship, engraved during the period of the Achæmenidæ.(5) Such an adoption

(1) See G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, 2d Edit., vol. II., p. 7 et seq., [1st Ed., vol. II., p. 236, Tr.] (2) Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, vol. II., pl. 150.

(3) See Roxburgh, *Flora Indica*, vol. II., pl. 31.

(4) Mannhardt (*Wald und Feldkulte*, vol. II., p. 262) remarks correctly that most frequently the representation appears to be copied from a kind of May-pole, artificially arranged; different plants being grouped together and tied with fillets.

(5) Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xxxi., Nos. 1 and 6; xxxii., No. 3; xxxiv., No. 8; xxxix., No. 3; xlix., No. 9; lvii., No. 1. This image was still used with the same signification at the time of the Sassanides, and it is possible to follow the history of the strange vicissitudes which brought about its imitation as a motive of unmeaning ornamentation, first among the Arabs, then in some

of the figure, most frequently used to represent the sacred tree of the Chaldeans and Assyrians, on the part of the Persians, to signify Haoma, though bearing no resemblance whatever to the genuine plant, proves that they recognized a certain analogy in the conception of the two emblems. In fact, adaptations of this nature were made with great discrimination by the Persians, and if they took Chaldeo-Assyrian art for model and instruction, they never adopted any among the religious symbols of the basin of the Euphrates and the Tigris which might not be made applicable to their own doctrines, and indeed to an extremely pure form of Mazdæism.(1) The adoption of the figure of the divine Chaldeo-Assyrian tree, to represent their Haoma, therefore shows decisively that it was possible to trace some kinship between these symbols, and in this connection we find a fresh proof in favor of the likeness which we are trying to establish

occidental buildings of the Roman period (Ch. Lenormant, *Anciennes Etoffes du Mans et de Chinon*, in the 3d vol. of *Mélanges d'Archéologie* of Fathers Martin and Cahier).

(1) Thus, of all the divine representations, they have preserved none except the emblematical figure of Ilu or of Asshur, the most elevated and least material of the personages of the Chaldeo-Assyrian Pantheon, the one who had most affinity with Ahuramazdâ; the celestial archangels, Igigi or Igaga, with four wings aud a perfectly human face, have become, as on the tomb of Cyrus, the Ameshaçpentas of Zoroastrianism; the monstrous images of supernatural beings and of the genii of the lower world have been assigned to the Daevas; the combat of Adar, of Nergal, or of Marduk against these monsters, has furnished a plastic type of the combat of Ahuramazdâ against Angrômainyus, or of the heavenly Yazatas against the infernal Daevas (see Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire des fragments de Bérose*, p. 327.)

between the genii-guarded plant on the Assyrian and Babylonian monuments and the tree of life of the Paradisaical traditions. Though the Hindus may have a diversity of opinions in regard to the nature of the mysterious trees of their terrestrial paradise of Meru, and even generally admit four different species;(1) though the Pehlevi *Bundehesh*, in giving the name of *khembe*(2) to the tree of the Airyana-Vaedja, appears to have had in view the *Nauclea Orientalis*, called in Sanskrit *kadamba*,(3) one of the trees which the Hindus placed upon the spurs of Meru, still it is the "White Haoma," the typical Haoma, which, in the sacred books of the Mazdæans, almost invariably plays the part of the Paradisaical tree of life, rising from the midst of the fount Ardvî-çura, and distilling the drink of immortality.(4) The Hindu Aryans attached an analogous idea to their Soma, for the fermented liquor which they manufactured by crushing the branches of this plant in a mortar, and with which they made their libations to the gods, was called by them *amritam*, "ambrosia, the liquor which bestows immortality." The Haoma and its sacred juice is likewise called "that which removes death," in the ninth chapter of the *Yaçna* of the Zoroastrians. It was for this reason that, among the Hindus and the

(1) Obry, *Du berceau de l'espèce humaine*, p. 162 et seq.; A. de Gubernatis, *Mythologie des plantes*, vol. I., p. 261.

(2) *Bundehesh*, xxx.

(3) Obry, *Du berceau de l'espèce humaine*, p. 156.

(4) Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 165–177; Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I., p. 465.

Iranians, the personification of the plant and of the sacred liquor, the god Soma or Haoma, prototype of the Greek Dionysos, became a lunar divinity, in his quality of guardian of the ambrosia, stored by the gods in the moon.(1) And at this point a final resemblance strikes us, in the fact that on the Assyrian bas-reliefs the sacred plant is guarded by winged genii, with the heads of eagles or of Percnopterous vultures. There is a singular analogy between these symbolic beings and the Garuda, or rather Garudas,(2) of the Aryans of India, genii, half men and half eagles. Now, in the Indian myths, and especially in the beautiful story of the *Astika-parva*,(3) it is Garuḍa who recovers the ambrosia, the *amritam*, or sacred juice of Soma, with which the libations are made, from the demons who have stolen it, and, on giving it back to the celestial gods, is made its keeper. His office, therefore, as well as that of the eagle-headed genii of the Assyrian monuments, beside the plant of life, is similar to the duty ascribed in *Genesis*(4) to the kerûbîm which Yahveh placed at the gate of the garden of ʻÊden, after the

(1) See Langlois, *Mémoire sur la divinité vêdique appelée Soma*, in the *Mémoires de l' Académie des Inscriptions*, new series, vol. XIX., 2d part; Windischmann, *Ueber den Somakultus der Arier*, in vol. IV. of the *Mémoires de l' Académie de Bavière.*

(2) Baron Eckstein has settled the point of the plurality of these genii, who have appeared ever since the Vedic age as symbols of the highest divinities (*Journal Asiatique*, 1859, vol. II., p. 380 et seq.; 384–390).

(3) This is the title of one of the sections of the immensely long Sanskrit epic, *Mahâbhârata*.

(4) III., 24.

driving forth of the first human pair, to defend the entrance, "and to keep the way of the tree of life."(1)

In one portion, at least, of Chaldea, properly so called, south of Babylon, it appears that the representative type which we have just been studying was not the one which there stood for the tree of life. The palm was in this region regarded as the sacred tree, the tree of Paradise, this being the tree which supplied the inhabitants with the better part of their nourishment, from whose fruit they decocted a fermenting and intoxicating beverage, a kind of wine, the tree to which, in a popular song, they attributed as many benefactions as may be reckoned days in the year. (2) (3) We have the proof of it in the cylinders

(1) We will recur to these kerûbîm in the following chapter.

(2) Strab., XVI., p. 742.

(3) It is well to observe here that the palm is one of the trees to which Semitic paganism has most generally attributed a sacred character. W. Baudissin (*Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. II., pp. 201 et seq. ; 211 et seq.) has very satisfactorily grouped the facts which appear to prove the existence of this cult among the Phœnicians. In Southern Arabia we meet with the famous palm-tree, which the inhabitants of Nadjrân, before their conversion to Christianity, adored as a divine Fetich (Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, vol. I., p. 125 ; Osiander, *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesell.*, vol. VII., p. 481). Among the Arabs of Hedjâz this tree was venerated in many places (Osiander, *loc. cit.*). The Qoreyshites adored the goddess Allât in the date-tree, Dhât anwât (Osiander, *loc. cit.;* Krehl, *Ueber die Religion der vorislamischen Araber*, pp. 73 et seq.), as well as in another palm-tree, which was still to be found in Mecca in the days of Mo'hammed (*Azraqi*, p. 82 ; see Dozy, *die Israeliten zu Mekka*, p. 19). The foremost of the heathen sanctuaries on the Sinaitic Peninsula, at Tôr, a great resort for pilgrims, was surrounded by a magnificent grove of palm-trees, to which may be referred the name itself, Φοινικὼν,

which show it surmounted by the emblem of the supreme deity, and guarded by two eagle-headed genii.(1) Besides, it is part of the essential characteristic of the tree of life that an intoxicating liquor may be extracted from its fruit, a beverage of immortality; the books of the Sabæans or Mandaïtes also associate with the tree Setarvan, the "fragrant vine," Sam-Gufno, above which floats "the supreme Life,"(2) after the same fashion that the emblematic image of the divinity, under its loftiest and most abstract form, hovers over the plant of life, in the monumental representations of Babylonia and Assyria.(3) And

given by the Greeks to this locality (Agatharchid. *ap.* C. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Min.*, vol. I., pp. 176–178; Strab., XVI., p. 777; Nonnos, *ap.* C. Müller, *Frag. historic. graec.*, vol. IV., p. 179; see Ritter, *Erdkunde Asien*, vol. XIII., p. 773; Fresnel, *Journal Asiatique*, Janvier-Fevrier, 1871, pp. 81 et seq.). The Kâabah was also surrounded, at first, by a sacred grove of palm-trees, which stood until the time of Qoçay, who cut them down, that he might build the city of Mecca, and had much difficulty in persuading the Qoreyshites to consent to it (Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes*, vol. I., p. 236).

(1) Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. lxi., No. 6.

(2) Norberg, *Codex Nasaræus*, vol. III., p. 68; *Onomast. ad Cod. Nasar.*, p. 111.

(3) The Chaldeo-Assyrians frequently made use of another symbolic element in making up the conventional type of their tree of life. In a large number of representations a symmetrical arrangement of branches projects from and encircles the plant, each branch terminating in a pine or cedar cone, though the artist has bestowed upon the plant neither the foliage nor the form of a conifer (G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Eastern World*, 2d Ed., vol. II., p. 7 [4th Ed., Ib.; 1st Ed., II., p. 236. Tr.]; W. Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. II., p. 190). It is this apple of pine or cedar which, in the Assyrian sculptures, the gods and

genii carry so frequently in their hands, always presenting it point forward, whether they are guarding the tree of life, or accompanying the king, as his protectors. In the latter case, the point of the vegetable cone is always turned in the direction of the monarch, "as though it were the medium of communication between the protector and the protected, the instrument by means of which grace and power passed from the genius to the mortal whom he had under his care" (G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Eastern World*, 2d Ed., vol. II., p. 29 [4th Ed., Ib.; 1st Ed., II., p. 263. Tr.]). Often, indeed, it is held under the king's nose, that he may breathe it; for it is always through the nostrils that the breath of life is communicated, according to the ideas of the Chaldeo-Assyrians, as well as in the conceptions of the Egyptians and in Genesis (ii. 7). An invocation to the god Marduk reads thus: "Asshur-bani-abal, the shepherd, thy neocorus, breathe life into his nostrils," *Assur-bani-abal ri'u zaninka bulliṭsu uppišu* (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 18, 2, l. 33).

W. Baudissin (*Studien*, vol. II., p. 190) sees here in the fruit of the coniferous plant a Phallic symbol. With much greater penetration M. Heuzey, some years since, put the following query, àpropos of the sacred sign of the protecting genii presenting a pine-apple or cedar cone to the king: "Was this a sign of conjuration, and was the fruit of the pine, on account of its pointed shape, recalling as it did the fire that purifies, or for some different reason, classed by the Orientals among the objects which had power to nullify witchcraft and sickness? Would it then be for a similar reason that the pine-apple figured in the hand of Esculapius, in the chryselephantine statue, chiseled by Calamis for the Sicyonians (Pausan., II., 10, 3)? I submit these queries to the scholars who devote themselves to the study of the ancient religions of the Orient" (*Revue Archéologique*, new series, vol. XIX., p. 4). In the conjecture which he offers under this modest and dubitative form, the learned academician showed a correct insight. The decipherment of the cuneiform texts enables us today to affirm it past doubt. For instance, in a Magic fragment, as yet unedited, the god Êa, the *Averruncus par excellence*, the vivifier and preserver of the human race, which he has created, prescribes to his son, Marduk, the mediator, a mysterious rite, which will cure a man whose malady is caused by an attack of demons. "Take,"

here we should note that the ancient Accadian name for the "vine," applied equally by extension and as a term of abuse to "wine," *geš-tin*,(1) is a compound, signifying properly "tree of life," or even more exactly "wood of life," of the two well known words *giš*, *geš*, "wood," and *tin*, "life."(2)

So much for the Tree of Life. As to the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, when distinct from the first, W. Baudissin(3) has very justly remarked that its conception is intimately connected with that of the tree regarded as prophetic, revealing

he says to him, "the fruit of the cedar, and hold it in front of the sick person; the cedar is the tree which gives the pure charm, and repels the inimical demons, who lay snares." *Kirim erini liqi va—ana pî marçi šukunšu—erinu içu nadin šipti ellitiv—ṭarid rabiçi limnuti.* In another bit, where not all the lines of the ancient Accadian text are accompanied by their Assyrian translation, the Magic rite is different, though the cedar still plays a most important part in it (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 16, 2), [obv., l. 30–35. Tr.] "Take a vessel and put water in it," said Ea to his son (Accad., *duq šarra a umenisî ;* Assyrian version, *mê mulli*, "filled with water"); ". . . put in it some wood of white cedar (Accad., *giš erin parra šâbi umenisî*), and introduce the charm which comes from Eridu (the city where Êa resides), thus powerfully completing the virtue of the enchanted waters (Accad., *namru Nunkîga uammunnišita abi namru sugal umenidû ;* the last member of the sentence has only an Assyrian rendering: *mê šipti rabiš šuklul*)." The cedar cone, or the pine-apple, is therefore the emblem and the instrument of the "Life Charm," *šipat balaṭi*, of which Êa is the master, and his son Marduk the dispenser (see *Cuneiform Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 29, 1, obv., l. 30, 31). And when fruits of this nature adorn the sacred plant, they characterize it more emphatically than ever as the tree of life.

(1) Cuneiform Syllabary, A, No. 154.

(2) F. Lenormant, *Etudes sur quelques parties des Syllabaires Cunéiformes*, § x.

(3) *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. II., p. 227.

the secrets of the future, and serving to interpret the divine will.(1) It is, therefore, necessary here to note that trees played a considerable part in Chaldaic divination,(2) and that we hear of a Phyllomancy among the Assyrians.(3) In Palestine we meet with the famous "oak of the diviners," *êlôn me'ônenîm,* near Shekem,(4) the palm-tree under which Deborah prophesied,(5) the oak of 'Ophrâh, where the angel of Yahveh appeared to Gide'ôn,(6) and beneath which that Judge raised an altar to God.(7) Dâvîd consulted Yahveh in the balsams, and the "going in their tops" made known to him the passing of God, who was to go out before him to lead him to battle.(8) It may be

(1) It is not only in the Semitic world that one meets with a belief in prophetic trees. In Greece we have the "talking oaks" of Dodona (Eschyl., *Prometh.*, v. 830; comp. Homer, *Iliad* II., v. 233; *Odyss.* E, v. 327), the most ancient oracle of the Pelasgians, the fratricidal laurel tree of Delos, which, by its trembling, gave forth presages (Virgil, *Æneid.* III., v. 73 et seq.), and that of Delphis (Homer, *Hymn. in Apoll.*, v. 393). The Etruscans divided trees into favorable and unfavorable, according to the nature of their presages (Macrob., *Saturn* II. 16).

(2) G. Smith, *North British Review*, January, 1870, p. 311 [Am. Ed., p. 164. Tr.]; Fr. Lenormant, *La Divination et la Science des Présages chez les Chaldéans*, p. 85.

(3) Mich. Psell., *De operat. dæmon.*, p. 42, ed. Boissonnade.

(4) Judges ix. 37. See W. Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionensgeschichte*, vol. II., p. 225, 226.

(5) Judges iv. 5.

(6) Judges vi. 11 and 19.

(7) Judges vi. 24.

(8) 2 Samuel v. 24; 1 Chron. xiv. 15; see Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israëls*, 2d Ed., vol. III., p. 188 [3d Ed., vol. III., p. 200; Eng. Trans., vol. III., p. 147. Tr.]; *Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, vol. I., p. 234.

seen by this example that the orthodox Hebrews held, like the nations that surrounded them, to the prophetic meaning in the agitation and rustling of the leaves of trees; for them, the divine will could make of each and any tree, a tree of knowledge and of understanding. The Arabs, before the days of Islam, had likewise their prophetic tree in the *Samurah* (*Spina Ægyptiaca*), carrying the thorns as talismans,(1) one specimen being adored among the Beni-Ghatafân as the image of the goddess El-'Uzzâ, (2) and the Nabateans regarding the tree with equal veneration.(3) They believed that a voice, foretelling the future, issued from the thorny thickets called gharqad.(4) The manifestation of the "angel of Yahveh," *malâk Yahveh*, to Môsheh (Moses), in

(1) Nowaïry, cited by Rasmussen, *Additamenta*, p. 65.

(2) Osiander, *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, vol. VII., p. 486.

(3) They held it to be the tree of Bel (A. Levy, *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesells.*, vol. XIV., p. 432). This tree is probably the one which the Chaldeo-Assyrians called *samullu* and designated by a complex ideograph, signifying "tree of light" (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 45, l. 49, *d–e*). It received divine worship, and its name (preceded orthographically by the determinative of "god") entered as the name of a divinity into the composition of the proper name of the brother of Asshur-bani-abal, Samul-shum-yukin (see G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 201), "Samul has established the name." A temple consecrated to the god Shin, at Babylon, was called "the Temple of the Great Tree Samul;" in Accadian, *ê-giššir-gal;* in Assyrian, *bit-samulli-rabi* (inscr. of Nabu-kudurri-uçur, called that "Of the East India Company," col 4, l. 25–28 [*Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, I., pl. 61. Tr.]; and in the bilingual hymn to Shin, *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 9, obv., l. 11, 12).

(4) *Aghâni*, ed. Kosegarten, vol. I., p. 21.

a burning bush in the desert of Ḫôrêb,(1) belongs to the same class of conceptions.(2)

The image of the Tree of Life among the Chaldeo-Assyrians was the object of a genuine divine cult; the simulacra seem to have been arranged after the fashion of the old-fashioned May-poles of Western Europe,(3) and trees laden with all kinds of attributes and ornaments were carried every year in springtime, as symbols of life, to be burned in the court of the temple of 'Atar-'Atê (Atergatis), at Hierapolis, in Syria.(4) In the representations of the monument known under the name of "Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone," which is supposed to have belonged to the religious foundations of the King Asshur-aḫ-idin (Esarhaddon), at Babylon, we see this simulacrum placed, idol-fashion, in a naos, which is surmounted by a cidaris, or upright tiara, adorned with several pairs of horns.(5) Hence it has been identified as a divinity. Here we should

(1) Exod. iii.

(2) Such a comparison may perhaps savor of temerity to some persons, whom I should be sincerely sorry to scandalize. But, to my mind, this implies no doubt cast upon the reality or the miraculous character of the occurrence. God's communications with man always assume that form which is most likely to impress the mind as colored by reigning ideas. It is thus that the Bible visions always wear the coloring of their surroundings; thus it happens, for instance, that Yôsêph's dreams, in Genesis, are purely Egyptian on their formal side, and those in the days of the Prophets purely Assyrian, noticeably in the case of Yeḥezqêl (Ezekiel), who wrote during the Captivity.

(3) Mannhardt, *Wald-und Feldkulte*, vol. II., p. 262.

(4) Lucian, *De dea Syr.*, 49; see W. Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. II , p. 210.

(5) Fergusson, *The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 298.

make room for George Rawlinson's very ingenious observation[1] upon the relation which the Assyrian works of symbolic art established between this image and the god Asshur, who hovers above it in his quality of celestial god. As has been remarked,[2] the tree of life below him seems to be the emblem of a female terrestrial divinity, presiding over earthly life and fertility, who must have been associated with him. This association of the deity with the tree of paradise, above which he hovers, gives us a plastic expression of the cosmogonic pair, recalling that of Uranos and Gê among the Greeks,[3] personifying the firmament and the terrestrial soil with its vegetation, the work of the second and third days of Creation, attributed to them in the Assyrian *Genesis*, the fragments of which have been discovered by George Smith. I refer now to Asshur and the goddess supposed to be his consort, a goddess who kept,[4] at Babylon, her old Acca-

(1) *The Five Great Monarchies*, 2d Ed., vol. II., pp. 6 et seq. [4th Ed., ib.; 1st Ed., vol. II., pp. 235 et seq. Tr.]

(2) Schlottmann, article *Astarte*, in Riehm's *Handwœrterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums*, p. 112; W. Baudissin, *Studien*, vol. II., p. 192.

(3) The pair of divinities called in Accadian Shar and Ki-shar (varied by Shar-gal and Kishar-gal, or Eni-shar and Nin-shar, "The Lord of Production" and "The Lady of Production"); in Semitic Assyrian, Asshur and Sheruya, is said to be a form of Anu and Anat, and is explained by the Heaven and the Earth (*Cuneiform Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 54, l. 1–7, 3, obv., *e–f;* vol. III., pl. 69, 1, l. 1–11; see the first appendix at the end of this volume, I. *B*).

(4) We discover this from Damascius' Chaldaic Cosmogony, which may be found in the first appendix at the end of this volume, I. *A*.

dian name of Ki-shar, "the earth which yields her increase," "the fruitful earth," while in Assyria she was designated by the Semitic name of Sheruya,([1]) coming from the same root as Asshur, with the elimination of the first radical. Thus we discover simultaneously the prototype and the origin of the name of the *Ashêrâh*, that pillar, more or less richly ornamented, which formed the consecrated idol image of the terrestrial goddess of fertility and of life in the Canaanite worship of Palestine, so often made mention of in the Bible.([2]) The fact that apart from this cult there existed in the cosmogonic traditions of the Chaldeans and Babylonians a myth regarding the tree of life and the fruit of Paradise, the action of which closely resembled in form the Bible narrative of the temptation, seems positively established, in the absence of written records, by the representation on a cylinder of hard stone, preserved in the British Museum,([3]) whereon are seen a man and a woman,

([1]) *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. III., p. 66, obv., l. 9, *a*, and l. 31, *d*; see H. Rawlinson in G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., p. 589. [Appleton's Am. Ed., I, p. 479 Tr.]

([2]) On the *Ashêrâh*, see chiefly Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, vol. I., pp. 560–584; Genesius, *Thesaurus*, p. 162; Schlottmann, article *Astarte*, in the *Handwœrterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums* (Riehm); W. Baudissin, *Studien*, vol. II., p. 218 et seq.

The identity of the sacred plant of the Assyrian monuments with the Ashêrâh of Palestine has been already maintained by Fergusson (*The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 299–301), and by G. Rawlinson (*The Five Great Monarchies*, 2d Edit., vol. II., p. 8 [4th Ed., ib.; 1st Ed., vol. II., pp. 236, 237. Tr.].

([3]) Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xvi., No. 4; Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire des Fragments de Bérose*, p. 331; G. Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 91 [Rev. Ed., p. 88. Tr.]; Vigouroux, *La Bible et les découvertes modernes*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 199.

the first wearing on his head the kind of turban peculiar to the Babylonians,(1) seated face to face, on either side of a tree, with horizontal branches, from which hang two large bunches of fruit, one in front of each of these personages, who are in the act of stretching out their hands to pluck them. Behind the woman a serpent uprears itself. This illustration might be used to illustrate the narrative of *Genesis*, and as Friedrich Delitzsch (2) has remarked, is capable of no other explanation.

M. Renan (3) does not hesitate to join forces with the ancient commentators, in seeking to recover a trace of the same tradition among the Phœnicians, in the fragments of Sanchoniathon, translated into Greek by Philo of Byblos. In fact, it is there said, in speaking of the first human pair, and of Æon, which seems to be the translation of *Ḥavvâh* (in Phœnician *Ḥavâth*), and stands in her relation to the other member of the pair, that this personage "has found out how to obtain nourishment from the fruits of the tree."(4) The learned academician even goes so far as to think that here may be found the echo of some type of Phœnician sculpture, which perhaps delineated a scene similar to the transaction

The cylinder is of Babylonish workmanship, and belongs to a very ancient epoch.

(1) This head-gear, frequently represented upon the monuments, is mentioned as characteristic of the Chaldeans by the Prophet Yeḥezqêl, xxiii. 15.

(2) G. Smith's *Chaldäische Genesis*, p. 305.

(3) *Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, new series, vol. XXIII., 2d Part, p. 259.

(4) Sanchoniathon, p. 14, ed. Orelli; see the first appendix at the end of this volume, II. *E*.

of Genesis, and akin to the presentment on the Babylonian cylinder. Certain it is, that at the epoch of the great influx of Oriental traditions into the classic world, a representation of this nature appears upon several Roman sarcophagi, where it undoubtedly indicates the introduction of a legend analogous to the narrative of Genesis, and akin to the myth of the formation of man by Prometheus.(1) A famous sarcophagus in the Museum of the Capitol (2) exhibits, close beside the Titan, son of Japêtos, who is finishing his task of moulding, the pair, man and woman, in a state of primitive nudity, standing at the foot of a tree, the man in the act of gathering the fruit.(3) A bas-relief, incrusted in the wall of the little garden of Villa Albani, at Rome, presents the same group, but more closely conformed to the Hebrew tradition, since a great snake twists itself about the trunk of the tree under whose shadow the two mortals are

(1) See Ottfr. Müller, *Handbuch der Archæologie*, § 396, 3.

(2) Foggini, *Mus. Capitol*, vol. IV., pl. xxv. ; Millin, *Galerie Mythologique*, pl. xciii., No. 383.

(3) Panofka (*Annales de l'Institut Archéologique*, vol. IV., p. 81 et seq.) would give to this pair the names of Deucalion and Pyrrha; the first, son of Prometheus; the second, daughter of Pandora, authors of the new human race, after the Deluge. To this we see no objection, if at the same time it be admitted that the monument informs us of the introduction of a legend analogous to that of Âdâm and Ḥavvâh, under the names of the first mentioned individuals. One might readily conceive the region of Iconium, in Asia Minor, as having been the theatre of such an introduction, for here it was that local tradition supposed the formation of man by Prometheus to have taken place immediately after Deucalion's deluge, with incidents singularly resembling the Biblical ones: Steph. Byzant., v. Ἰκόνιον.

standing.[1] It was this plastic type which was imitated and reproduced by the earliest Christian artists, when creating their representations of the fall of the first parents of the human race, a subject frequently reproduced by their painters and sculptors.[2] On the sarcophagus at the Capitol, the presence, beside Prometheus, of a Fate casting the horoscope of the man whom the Titan is in the act of forming, is calculated to make one suspect an influence exerted upon the subjects worked out by the sculptor, from the doctrines of those Chaldean astrologers spread over the Græco-Roman world in the last centuries before the Christian era, and specially rising to high credit at Rome, though indeed the date of the monuments to which we have referred makes it possible that this presentation of the story of the first human pair in connection with the tree of Paradise, from which they are about to eat the fruit, may have been obtained directly from the Old Testament itself, as readily as from the cosmogonic myths of Chaldea or Phœnicia.

But I find incontrovertible evidence of the existence of such a tradition in the cycle of indigenous legends of the people of Kenâ'an, since the discovery of a curious vase, painted in the Phœnician manner, dating back to the seventh or sixth century B. C., and found by General di Cesnola in one of the most

(1) Monument described by Panofka, in the memoir already quoted.

(2) Upon the sacred style of presenting this scene, see the article *Adam et Eve*, in the excellent *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes* of the Abbé Martigny.

ancient sepulchres of Idalium, on the island of Cyprus.(1) We trace thereupon a tree with foliage, from the lower branches of which hang, on either side, two great bunches of fruit; a huge serpent approaches the tree with an undulatory motion, and is in the act of opening his jaw to seize one of the fruits.(2)

(1) Di Cesnola, *Cyprus, its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples*, p. 101. This vase is at present preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in New York.

(2) We must keep ourselves in check, that we may not be carried away by exaggerated resemblances; for which reason we will not carry these comparisons any further, though it might be easy to do so in a direction which we will be content to indicate briefly. It is difficult not to find an affinity between the Paradisaical tree of the cosmogonic Asian traditions and the tree with the golden apples in the garden of the Hesperides, guarded by the serpent, which the sculptured monuments always represent as wrapped round its trunk. In the myth, incontestably of Phœnician origin, in which Hercules slays the serpent-guardian of the Hesperidean tree, and takes possession of the golden apples, we see the revenge taken by the god of light and of the sun, winning back the tree of life from the powers of darkness, jealousy and enmity, personified by the serpent, who got possession of it in the beginning of the world. It was thus that in the Hindu myth the gods recovered the ambrosia from the Asuras, or demons, who had stolen it. Let us further observe that Hercules, the conqueror of the dragon of the Hesperides, is likewise the liberator of Prometheus, who was the first to pluck the fruit from the celestial and cosmical tree, namely, fire, in spite of the divine prohibition; and the legend even relates the performance of these two exploits in the course of a single expedition of the god. The scene of the first adventure was located to the west of Libya, the abode of the daughters of Hesperos, the Evening Star, who rose on the horizon near the spot where the sun had disappeared, close to the place where Atlas supported the weight of the celestial vault; or else, according to Apollodoros (II., 5, 11), it was supposed to have been among the Hyperboreans, "on the night-side," as

One is of course in the right in doubting whether, in Chaldea, and still more in Phœnicia, the tradition parallel to the Bible narrative of the Fall had a significance as exclusively spiritual as in Genesis; and even whether it contained the same moral lesson as may be traced in the recital of the Zoroastrian books. The grossly materialistic spirit of Pantheism, characterizing the religion of these countries, opposes an invincible obstacle to such an idea. Nevertheless, it should be remarked, that among the Chaldeans and their Assyrian disciples, at least up to a certain epoch, the conception of the nature of sin and the necessity for repentance is found more exactly expressed than generally among the nations of antiquity,(1) and consequently it is difficult to believe

Hesiod puts it (Theogon., v. 275; comp. v. 215), that Heracles-Melqarth went to look for the fruits of life, fire and light, the approach to which was forbidden by the dragon Ladon, son of Typhaon and Echidna. His exploit is each day repeated, with the alternating, periodical triumph of light and darkness, and as Preller has justly remarked (*Griechische Mythologie*, 2d Ed., vol. II., p. 216 et seq., wherein all the variations of the legend of the conquests of the Hesperidean fruits are admirably collated), the god returning from the country of the Hesperides with the golden apples, is the sun, reappearing in the East, after having plunged beneath the waves at his setting, bringing back with him those luminous rays which he has regained from the night, and having rejuvenated himself by means of the fruits of life in the garden of the gods. Preller before us did not hesitate (*Griech. Mythol.*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 439) to compare the garden of delights, inhabited by the Hesperides, with its fountain of ambrosia (*Euripid. Hippol.*, v. 743 et seq.) and its tree of golden apples, with the Gan-'Êden of the Bible, its spring, and tree of life. He also compares Idhunna's golden apples in the Scandinavian and Germanic legend.

(1) See Fr. Lenormant in *The Academy*, 20th July, 1878; *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldäer*, pp. 60–68.

that the priesthood of Chaldea, with its profound speculations in religious philosophy, did not seek to find a solution for the problem of the origin of evil and sin.

With the reservation implied by this last remark, it is likely that the Chaldean and Phœnician legends concerning the fruit of the Paradise tree were near akin in spirit to the cycle of the old myths, common to all branches of the Aryan race, to the study of which Adalbert Kuhn has dedicated a deeply interesting book.(1) These are the myths which refer to the invention of fire and the beverage of Life; they are found in their most ancient form in the Vedas, and have become naturalized, and more or less modified by the lapse of time, among the Greeks, the Romans and the Slavs, as well as among the Iranians and Hindus. The fundamental conception of these myths, which never appear in perfection except under their oldest forms, represents the universe as an enormous tree, with its roots clasping the earth and its branches shaping the vault of heaven.(2)

(1) *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Goettertranks*, Berlin, 1859. See the important articles of F. Baudry on this book, in the *Revue Germanique* for 1861; see also A. de Gubernatis, *Mythologie des Plantes*, vol. I., pp. 93–98.

(2) On the existence of the notion of a cosmic tree among the Chaldeo-Babylonians, see C. W. Mansell, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1878, p. 133. W. Baudissin is wrong in supposing it unknown to the Phœnicians (*Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. II., p. 192). Schlottmann remarks, on the other hand, and with justice, that this conception is inherent in the similitude established between the tree of life and the terrestrial goddess, associated with the celestial deity Asshur (article *Astarte*, in the *Handwœrterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums* (Riehm), p. 112).

The fruit of this tree is fire, indispensable to the existence of man, and the material symbol of intelligence; from its leaves is distilled the drink of life. The gods have reserved the proprietorship of the fire for themselves; it sometimes descends to earth in the thunderbolt, but men are not allowed to produce it themselves. The individual who, like the Prometheus of the Greeks, discovers the process by which a flame may be artificially kindled, and communicates it to other men, is an impious person, who has stolen the forbidden fruit from the sacred tree; he is accursed, and the vengeance of the gods pursues him and his race.

The analogy of form between the myths and the Bible narrative is striking. It is doubtless the same tradition, but apprehended in quite another sense, symbolizing an invention in the material order, instead of being applied to the fundamental fact in the moral order, and additionally disfigured by the monstrous conception, too frequent among pagans, which represents the divinity as a terrible and malignant power, jealous of the happiness and progress of men.(1) The spirit of error among the Gentiles had

Among the myths borrowed by the philosopher Pherecydes, of Syros, from the mysterious books of the Phœnicians (Hesych. Miles., *De sapient.*, v. Φερεκύδης), there figured that of the "winged oak" (ὑπόπτερος δρῦς), over which Zeus had spread a magnificent veil, representing the constellations, the earth and the ocean (Maxim. Tyr., *Dissert.*, X., 4; Clem. Alex. Stromat., VI., 2, p. 741; see Jacobi in the *Theologische Studien* of Ullmann and Umbreit, 1851, vol. I., p. 207). Manifestly here we have the cosmic tree again. See, besides, the first appendix at the end of this volume, III.

(1) God would in truth assume this character, if one were to

changed this mysterious symbolic reminder of the event which decided the condition of humanity.

accept the interpretation given by some Talmudists lost in unwholesome speculations (see Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. I., p. 371 et seq.), developed by Cornelius Agrippa of Cologne, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, in his treatise *De originali peccato*, and lately started afresh by M. Schœbel, in a dissertation in which one regrets to see so much science expended on so false an object (*La mythe de la femme et du serpent, étude sur les origines d'une évolution psychologique primordiale*, Paris, 1876). This interpretation is one which would fain see in the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge the symbol of the natural act by which alone the human race can be perpetuated, that act the performance of which has been elevated, purified and consecrated by the institution of marriage.

Thus, that which God had specially interdicted to man would be the act by means of which his species is preserved conformably to the laws of nature! This would suppose Him jealous of the prolonged existence of the being He had just created, of whom He had so lately said, "it is not good for him to be alone" (Genesis ii. 18), and to whom he had given a "help-meet!" Everything in the Bible account protests against such a blasphemy (the authors of which were evidently unable to measure its consequences), not only the ancient Elohist account, but the Jehovist version as well. Far from such a condition, immediately subsequent upon the creation of the first human pair (whether the Elohist author regarded them as already divided or still united as a single individual), we find Elohim saying to them, as to all living creatures: "Be fruitful, and multiply!" (Genesis i. 28.) There is nothing in the Bible at all resembling the strange dialogue placed by one of the hymns of the Rig-Veda (sect. vii., lect. vi., hymn 5, translation of Langlois) into the mouths of Yama and Yami, the first man and the first woman, in which the man refuses to form any connection with the woman for fear of committing an impiety, because she is his sister. However, the intention of this Vedic hymn appears to have been, not the condemnation of the sexual union, as regulated by marriage, but a precaution against the consequences destructive to the laws of the family, which might possibly have followed from the example of the first human pair in legitimatizing and authorizing incest.

The inspired author of the Jehovist document, incorporated in Genesis, and, after him, the final editor of the book adapted it under the very form which it had worn to the material sense; but he restored its true meaning, and drew from it its solemn teaching.

Some observations are needful in regard to the animal form which clothes the tempter in the Bible narrative, the serpent, who played an analogous part in the legends of Chaldea and Phœnicia, as the sculptured monuments have just shown us.

The serpent, or, to speak more exactly, the different species of serpents hold a very considerable place in the religious symbolism of the people of antiquity. These creatures are there used with the most opposite meanings, and it would be contrary to all the rules of criticism to group together and in confusion, as has been done by scholars of former times, the very contradictory notions attached in this way to the different serpents in the ancient myths, in such wise as to create a vast ophiolatric system,(1) derived from a single source,(2) and made to harmonize with the narration of Genesis. But side by side

(1) Fergusson's monumental work (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, London, 1868) is not absolutely free from this defect, the learned author having therein displayed more erudition and ingenuity than critical ability, and having allowed himself to be a little too much carried away by the attraction of system.

(2) Here is a very bright remark of Max Müller's: "There is an Aryan, there is a Semitic, there is a Turanian, there is an African serpent, and who but an evolutionist would dare to say that all these conceptions came from one and the same original source, that they are all held together by one traditional chain?" (*The Academy*, 1874, p. 548.)

with divine serpents of an essentially favorable and protective character, oracular, or allied with the gods of health, of life or of healing, we find in all mythologies a gigantic serpent, personifying the nocturnal, hostile power, the evil principle, material darkness and moral wickedness.(1)

Among the Egyptians, it is the serpent Âpap, who fights against the Sun, and whom 'Hor pierces with his weapon.(2) Among the Chaldeo-Assyrians, we find mention of a great serpent called "the Enemy of the Gods," *aiub ilani*.(3) We are distinctly told that Pherecydes of Syros (4) borrowed from the Phœnician mythology his story of the old Ophion, the serpent-god, first master of heaven, precipitated with

(1) Wolf Baudissin has devoted an admirable section of the first volume of his *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte* to the study of the subject, regarded from a Semitic point of view: *Die Symbolik der Schlange im Semitismus, insbesondere im Alten Testament.* [*Studien*, I., pp. 257 et seq. Tr.]

(2) See the monumental representations collected in Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, edition of 1878, vol. III., p. 155. The victory of Horus over Apap is the subject of the thirty-ninth chapter of the *Book of the Dead.*

(3) *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. II., pl. 5, l. 39. [*b*, cf.] *c–d;* pl. 24, l. 9, *e–f.*

The myth of the great cosmogonic battle between Tiamat, personification of the chaotic world, and the god Marduk, contained in a portion of the epic fragments in cuneiform writing, discovered by George Smith, need not be introduced here. Tiamat there assumes the form of a monster, which makes its appearance in different places on the monuments of art; but the form is not that of a serpent. See, besides, the original story of the battle of Marduk against Tiamat, in the first appendix at the end of this volume, I. *F.*

(4) Euseb., *Præparat. Evangel.*, I. [x., 41, ed. Migne]; Orelli, *Sanchoniath. fragm.*, p. 47.

his companions into Tartarus by the god Cronos (Îl), who triumphs over him at the beginning of all things,[1] a story strikingly analogous to the history of the defeat of the "old Serpent who is the calumniator, and Satan," cast down and shut up in the abyss, which did not figure in the Old Testament, but existed in the oral traditions of the Hebrews, and has found a place in chapters xii. and xx. of St. John's *Apocalypse*.[2]

Mazdæism is the only religion in the symbolism of which the serpent never appears, except as an evil agent, for even in the Bible its significance is sometimes good, as in the case of the history of the Brazen Serpent,[3] the reason of this being that in the

(1) Origen, *Adv. Cels.*, VI., p. 303; Apollon. Rhod., *Argonaut.*, I., v. 503 et seq.; Tzetz *ad* Lycophr., *Cassandra*, v. 1191; comp. the first appendix at the end of this volume, III. *P–T.* On the oriental character of this myth, see Jacobi, in the *Theologische Studien* of Ullmann and Umbreit, 1851, vol. I., p. 203.

(2) In verse 3 of chapter xii. of the Apocalypse this dragon is described as red in color and having seven heads. In a lyric piece of religious Chaldean poetry, "the huge seven-headed serpent who pounds the waves of the sea" is spoken of (*Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 19, No. 2, l. 13–17), and this serpent appears to be identical with the one which is called "Enemy of the Gods," and is described as being red in color (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 24, l. 9, *e–f*).

(3) On the Brazen Serpent, see Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israëls*, 3d Ed., vol. II., p. 249 et seq. [Eng. Trans., vol. II., pp. 176 et seq. Tr.]; Kœhler, article *Schlange*, in the *Real–Encyclopædie* of Herzog, vol. XIII., p. 565 [1st Ed.]; Œhler, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, vol. I., p. 116 et seq. [Eng. Trans., vol. I., p. 112 et seq. Tr.]; De Wette, *Archæologie*, 4th Ed., by Räbiger (1864), p. 341; Kuenen, *De Godsdienst van Israël*, vol. I., p. 284 et seq. [Eng. Trans., vol. I., pp. 288 et seq. Tr.]; Tiele, *Eg. en Mes. Godsdienst*, p. 551; W. Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religions-*

conception of Zoroastrian dualism the animal itself belongs to the impure and adverse creation of the Evil Principle. It was under the form of a great serpent, too, that Angrômainyus, after having endeavored to corrupt heaven, leaped upon the earth,(1) and under this form he fights Mithra, the god of the pure sky;(2) finally, it is under this form that he will one day be overcome, chained for three thousand years, and at the end of the world be burned in liquefying metals.(3)

In these Zoroastrian narratives, Angrômainyus, under the form of a serpent, is the emblem of wickedness, the personification of the evil spirit, just as clearly as is the serpent of Genesis, and that, too, in

geschichte, vol. I., p. 288 et seq. Consult also, if desired, but with a good deal of reserve: G. C. Kern, *Ueber die eherne Schlange*, in Bengel's *Archiv. f. d. Theolog.*, vol. V. (1822), p. 396 et seq.; Fr. Funk, *Dissertatio inauguralis historico-medica de Nehuschthane et Æsculapie serpente*, Berlin, 1826; E. Meier, *Ueber die eherne Schlange*, in Baur & Zeller's *Theolog. Jahrbücher*, vol. XIII. (1854), p. 585 et seq.; Gottfr. Menken, *Ueber die eherne Schlange*, in his *Schriften*, vol. VI. (1858), pp. 349–411.

(1) *Bundehesh*, III.—"The serpent Angrômainyus, full to the brim with death," was spoken of as early as the *Vendidad*, XXII., 5 and 6.

(2) See the dissertation of Windischmann, *Mithra, ein Beitrag zur Mythengeschichte des Orients*, Leipzig, 1857.

(3) *Bundehesh*, XXXI. The serpent is made the impersonation of several secondary forms of the evil principle, divers mythological beings, created by Angrômainyus to ravage the earth, and make war upon all good, and the true faith, such as Azhi-Dahâka (the biting serpent), vanquished by Thrætaona (Spiegel, *Avesta*, vol. III., p. lx) and the dragon Çruvara, slain by the hero Kereçâçpa (Spiegel, *Avesta*, vol. III., p. lxviii.). For further details concerning the part enacted by the serpent in Iranian mythology, see A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. II., p. 412 et seq.

a sense almost as thoroughly spiritual. On the other hand, in the *Vêdas,* the same myth of the battle against the serpent is presented to us in a purely naturalistic character, depicting, under the most transparent guise, an atmospheric phenomenon. The narrative most frequently recurring in the old hymns of the Aryans of India, during their primitive epoch, is that of the combat of Indra, god of the luminous sky and of the azure, against Ahi, the serpent, or Vritra, personifications of the storm-cloud, which spreads and grows as it creeps through the sky. Indra overpowers Ahi, strikes him with his thunderbolt, and in tearing him asunder gives free vent to the fertilizing waters which he held imprisoned within his person.(1) In the *Vêdas* the myth never rises above this purely physical phenomenon, nor in any way passes from the representation of the elemental conflicts in the atmosphere to that of the moral war between good and evil, of which it is the expression in Mazdæism.

This myth of the thunderstorm is taken as the pivot of a general explanation of the religions of antiquity by a certain school of modern mythologists, of whom Adalbert Kuhn is the most brilliant example in Germany. Especially, they say, must the fundamental source, the origin and the true significance of the traditions we have just passed in review, including the Bible narrative of the Fall, be sought for in the naturalistic fable of the *Vêdas.*(2) Doubt-

(1) See Maury, *Croyances et légendes d'antiquité*, 2d Ed., pp. 96–110; *Histoire des religions de la Grèce*, vol. I., p. 130 et seq.

(2) This is the theory maintained by M. Bréal, with much talent and profound learning, in his dissertation on *Hercule et Cacus*, Paris, 1863.

less, the allegory which suggested the myth was familiar to the Hebrews themselves. We find it distinctly set forth in a verse of the Book of Iyôb,(1) where it is said of God: "His breath gives serenity to the sky; his hand pierces the outspread serpent." In fact, in the parallelism of the two sections of the verse, the first determines the intention of the second.(2) But the Vedic myth is only one of the applications of a symbolic story, of a non-Aryan origin, which goes very much farther back into the primitive past of humanity, before the ethnic division of the ancestors of the Egyptians, the Semites and the Aryans, the three great races represented by the three sons of Nôaḥ; this we know, since we meet it, without exception, among them all. The pastoral tribes with whom originated the hymns of the *Vêdas*, far removed from high civilization, whether material or intellectual, only associated with it the conception of a restricted, almost childish, naturalism, with special application to this phenomenon, by which the conditions of their simple existence were most affected. But in the case of the Egyptians, we find the same myth with a much loftier and more general interpretation. With them the serpent Âpap is not the storm-cloud; he is the personification of the darkness which the Sun, under the form of Râ or 'Hor,(3) contends against, during his nocturnal passage around the lower hemisphere, and over

(1) XXVI., 13.

(2) See Schlottmann, *Das Buch Hiob*, p. 101 et seq.; W. Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. I., p. 285.

(3) He specially represents the rising sun.

which he is destined to triumph before reappearing in the East.(1) The conflict of 'Hor with Apâp is ever renewed at the seventh hour of the night,(2) a little before the sun-rising, and the thirty-ninth chapter of the *Book of the Dead* demonstrates that this conflict between light and darkness was looked upon by the Egyptians as the emblem of the moral conflict between good and evil.(3) The serpent in the paradisaical legends of Chaldea and Phœnicia is no longer the thunder-cloud, but suggests the narrative of Genesis.(4) The zigzag movements of the

(1) Pierret, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Egyptienne*, p. 55.

(2) Pierret, *Etudes égyptologiques*, II., p. 113.

(3) See Fr. Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 75 [Eng. Trans., p. 83. Tr.].

(4) After passing in review the numerous traditions of various nations, gathered together in Mr. Fergusson's book, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, a good part, however, having been set aside that we might devote ourselves exclusively to those most nearly related to the Bible narrative and belonging to a certain group of civilizations—it should be remarked that a large number of legends and cult-forms which associate the serpent with the tree of life, attach to this creature no idea whatever of reprobation, or personification of evil; neither do they attribute to him the part of a tempter, as in the story of Genesis and in the parallel traditions of Zoroastrianism. On the contrary, the serpent therein wears a favorable aspect; he is divine like the tree, equally worshipped, and completes its significance as a symbol of wisdom and knowledge (see A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. I., p. 397), or else of life, of rejuvenation and of eternity. Indeed, in Genesis the serpent is "subtle beyond all the beasts which Yahveh Elohim had made" (iii. 1), and acts as a real revealer of knowledge, though in a bad and culpable sense.

The story which the compiler of the book has incorporated from the ancient Jehovist document is of a kind to suggest to us the probability of the parallel existence, among the neighboring peoples, of a similar narrative, in which the serpent is described as

clouds across the sky may have suggested—though I am loath to make a point of it without being more absolutely certain of my grounds—the first germ of the idea of making the serpent the terrible image of a powerful adversary, in whose conception were combined the intimately associated ideas of darkness and of evil, by a confusion of the physical and moral order, which no antique religion, not even Mazdæism, has ever been able entirely to separate, with the sole exception of that of the Hebrews. But the great serpent, among all the highly civilized peoples whose

presenting man with the fruit of knowledge, and becoming the intermediary of a divine revelation. But this revelation was idolatrous, and is indignantly rebuked in the sacred book, since idolatry is the most heinous of sins. It is after this wise that Sir Henry Rawlinson understands the story of the Fall in Genesis, in its relation to the Chaldeo-Babylonian myths, thinking he can perceive traces of the fact that the serpent was an emblem of Êa, in his character of god of wisdom. (In G. Rawlinson's English *Herodotus*, vol. I., p. 600. [Am. Ed., p. 488. Tr.]) So far nothing has transpired either to confirm or contradict, in a direct manner, this conjecture of the illustrious pioneer in Assyriological studies. We can only be quite sure that the serpent was undoubtedly a symbol of life to the Chaldeo-Assyrians. One of its generic names in the Assyrian Semitic tongue is *ḫavvu* (Fred. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, p. 69), like the Arabian *ḥiyah*, both derived from the root *ḫâvah*, "to live." On the very valuable monument, just published by M. Clermont-Ganneau (*Revue Archéologique*, new series, December, 1879), with which we should associate another, edited by Lajard (*Monuments inédits de l'Institut Archéologique*, vol. III., pl. xxxvi., No. 1), Goula, goddess of the resurrection, she who "brings the dead to life" (as she is described in *Cuneiform Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 62, l. 50, *e–f*), standing on her sacred bark, which floats upon the waters of the river of the dead, is represented under a form uniting various animal shapes, and holds serpents in her hands, as emblematic of life and renewal.

traditions we have scrutinized, is symbolical of this dark and evil power in its broadest conception.

However it may be, my Christian faith is not in the least affected by the admission that the inspired compiler of Genesis used, in relating the Fall of the first human pair, a narrative which had assumed an entirely mythical character among the surrounding peoples, and that the form of the serpent attributed to the tempter may in its origin have been an essentially naturalistic symbol. Nothing compels us to accept in its literal sense the story of the third chapter of Genesis. One is perfectly justified, without for a moment departing from the orthodox belief, in considering it as a figure, intended to impress a fact of a purely moral order upon the senses. Hence it is not the form of the narrative which makes the difference, but the dogma which it expresses,(1) and

(1) "Historic, legendary and mythical tradition, partly oral, partly written," says M. Nœldeke (*Histoire littéraire de l'Ancien Testament*, French translation, p. 10), "forms the basis upon which the narrative works with more or less freedom. So far as we are able to discover, the oldest of these narrators did not generally confine themselves as strictly as we might suppose to the reproduction, pure and simple, of the material upon which they drew for their stories. They not only add to these stories free and poetic ornament, but likewise certain essential features, according to each one's peculiar way of viewing a subject. Stories founded on primitive history specially abound in free descriptions, in cases where tradition only furnishes the main points. Thus, for instance, it would be altogether false to regard the story of the creation of the first human beings and the Fall as a popular myth, it being rather the free and well-considered product of the narrator, who only retains some features borrowed from mythical tradition."

It would not be possible to define more accurately the distinc-

this dogma of the Fall of the human race, in consequence of the perverted use which its authors made of their free-will, is an eternal truth which nowhere else comes out with the same distinctness. It furnishes the sole solution to the difficult problem which continually forces itself before the mind of man, and which no religious philosophy has ever succeeded in solving, without revelation.

tion between the fundamental doctrine peculiar to the Israelites, in which the Christian recognizes divine inspiration, and the imaginative form of the narratives, common to the Israelites and to the pagan nations by whom they were surrounded. The modification of a very few words in these sentences would make of them a strictly orthodox thesis, which doubtless would greatly astound the eminent philologist who wrote them. But if he has bestowed much study upon the text of the Bible in itself, he knows what Christians think of it, much better than he understands the definitions of their theologians. He would force these to eat their words, and that they would never do.

CHAPTER III.

THE KERUBIM AND THE REVOLVING SWORD.

After having driven the first human pair from the earthly Paradise, as a punishment for their sin, "Yahveh Elohîm placed to the East of the garden of 'Êden the kerûbîm and the flaming blade of the sword which turns, to keep the way of the tree of life." (1)

What were the kerûbîm? Or, to speak more exactly—since in this commentary we do not deal at all with the theological view of the matter, that side of the question reserved to itself by the Church,—the idea of what plastic form did this name awaken in the Hebrew mind?

For a short while there was a ruling tendency among scholars, in the case of all the remains of primitive tradition, proved past doubt as having a parallel existence in the Bible and among the most ancient peoples of the Aryan race, especially among the Iranians, to establish the claim for priority in favor of the Aryans, and to see only imitators in the Semites; there was even an inclination to regard the contents of the first chapters of Genesis as merely borrowed at a late date by the Hebrews from Irân, about

(1) Genesis iii. 24.

the time of the Captivity, or under the first kings of the Achaemenidæ. The deciphering of the cuneiform texts has utterly changed all this from the scientific point of view, and shattered the Aryan theory from pinnacle to foundation stone; so that now it reckons but a little handful of adherents, and they behind the times. No one denies, nowadays, on the one hand, that the Chaldaic tradition has a closer affinity with the Bible narrative than any other; or, on the other hand, that in all cases where this tradition and that of the Aryo-Hindus, or the Iranians, rest upon common ground, the claim to priority is vastly on the side of Chaldea and Babylon. The Semitico-Babylonian culture, not to speak of the anterior and non-Semitic culture, Accadian or Sumerian,(1) had already reckoned long centuries of existence and of brilliant development at the epoch when the Aryans were in the very dawn of highly civilized life—at their first appearance, in fact, upon the stage of history. It was through this culture, by means of its widespread illumination, that they were profoundly influenced, perhaps even before they began their migrations from their earliest dwelling-place. And this influence was more intensely felt by the Iranians than by others, for the reason that their history kept them in more immediate and constant contact with the great focus of civilization on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Only one question still remains obscure, which is, the determination of the precise relation of the Biblical tradition to the Chaldaic tra-

(1) Or, to speak still more exactly, Sumero-Accadian.

dition, so as to know precisely whether it be its daughter or sister.

The school holding the Aryan theory fancied it had found in the name kerûbîm one of the strongest proofs of its system. This is no Semitic word, they said; it is an Aryan term, and identical with the name of the γρύπες, or griffins, which the Greek legend made the warders of the gold in Upper Asia. (1)

All this has vanished like a mist since the name of the kerûbîm has been found in the cuneiform inscriptions; and more than one philologist to-day thinks that instead of being compelled to refer the Hebrew word *kerûb* to the Aryan root *grabh*, "to seize," the introduction of the vowel υ in the Greek γρὺφ is an indication of the influence of the Semitic upon the Hellenic term. (2)

Whatever may be said in favor of the last-named suggestion, it is at least absolutely certain at this moment that the word kerûb is of pure Semitic origin, and has been used as a substantive to signify "bull," in the sense of a creature "strong and pow-

(1) Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 4th ed., vol. III., p. 80; Vatke, *Biblische Theologie*, vol. I., p. 325 et seq.; Tuch, *Kommentar über die Genesis*, p. 96 et seq. [2d Ed., by Arnold & Merx, 1871, p. 76. Tr.]; Genesius, *Thesaurus*, p. 711; Renan, *Histoire des langues Sémitiques*, 1st Ed., p. 460 [4th Ed., p. 487. Tr.]; Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. 1, p. 467.

Ewald rejected this opinion and thought the kerûbîm rather resembled the Egyptian sphinxes: *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israël*, 2d Ed., p. 139. [3d Ed., p. 165; Eng. Trans., p. 123. Tr.]

(2) Friedrich Delitzsch, *Studien über Indogermanisch-Semitische Wurzelverwandschaft*, p. 106 et seq.; *Assyrische Studien*, p. 108.

erful" beyond others—from a root *kârab*.(1) This can be clearly proved by comparing two parallel passages from the prophet Yeḥezqêl, i. 10 and x. 14, where *kerûb* is used interchangeably with *shôr*, "bull," and where "face of a cherub" and "face of a bull" are two synonymous expressions. And, besides, since we have come to know those colossal images of winged bulls with human faces, crowned with the lofty cidaris, decorated with several pairs of horns, which flanked the gateways of the Assyrian palaces,(2) a number of scholars, among those who have the most intimate acquaintance with antique sculpture, have been zealous in associating them with the kerûbîm of the Bible.(3)

In the explanatory inscription which accompanies the bas-reliefs representing the transportation of the winged bulls, destined for the gates of the palace of Shin-aḫê-irba (Sennacherib), at Nineveh,(4) these figures are designated by the same ideographic group(5) which always serves to indicate them in the historic inscriptions of the kings of Assyria. Now, the Cuneiform Syllabary, A, No. 175, gives

(1) Franz Delitzsch, *Genesis*, 4th Ed., p. 541.

(2) Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, vol. I., pl. 44 and 45; Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, pl. 4; new series, pl. 3.

(3) Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. II., p. 464 [Putnam's Amer. Ed., 1849, vol. II., p. 351. Tr.]; Ravenshaw, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XVI., p. 93 et seq.; Roediger in the *Addenda* to Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, p. 95; and especially de Saulcy, *Histoire de l'Art Judaïque*, pp. 22–29.

(4) Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, new series, pl. 15 and 16.

(5) Oppert, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. II., p. 93; Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 117. [Harpers' Amer. Ed., 1871, p. 99. Tr.]

as readings of this group the Accadian *alad*,(1) and the Assyrian-Semitic *shêdu*, "genius;" (2) indeed, in the documents of Magie the same group is continually employed to represent the name of the *shêdi*, or "genii," whether favorable or hostile, of the good as well as of the evil principle.(3) This explains the circumstance of the winged bull with a human head, figuring in a bas-relief of the palace of Khorsabad,(4) as a favorable and protecting genius, which watches over the safe navigation of the transports that carry the wood of Lebanon by sea.

The bulls whose images are placed at the gateways of the palaces and temples, and who are never otherwise designated in the historic texts than by the ideographic group already mentioned,(5) are the guardian

(1) And not *alap*, as was formerly supposed to be the reading, which resembled the Assyrian *alapu*, Hebrew *eleph*, "ox."

(2) This word is the same as the Hebrew *shêdîm*, "demons," and the Syriac *shidô*, "demon." The genii of paganism were transformed into demons by the Hebrews and Christians.

(3) Fr. Lenormant, *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldäer*, p. 23.

(4) Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, vol. I., pl. 32.

(5) There is an inexact notion still current in some recent works, that a mention of the colossal winged bulls has been made out in a passage of the Khorsabad inscription, called "the Archives of Sargon," where I also fancied (*Essai de commentaire des fragments de Bérose*, p. 137) that the names of the two classes of winged genii represented in the bas-reliefs, the Natgi and the Usturi, might be found. This is all a mistake, and should be henceforth pitilessly exposed by science. The passage in question (l. 168–173) still contains some difficult words, but the general meaning of it is clear and undoubted. It is an enumeration of the victims and the offerings presented by the king in sacrifice to the gods (*maḫaršun aqqi*): "I have sacrificed in their presence," and not an enumeration of sculptured figures. It begins

genii who watch over the dwelling. They are looked upon as living beings. As the result of a veritable magical operation, the supernatural creature which they represent is supposed to reside within these bodies of stone. This explains the saying of King Asshur-aḫ-idin, at the end of the inscription on the terra cotta prism deposited in the foundations of his palace at Nineveh: (1) "In this palace, may the propitious genius, the propitious colossus, guardian of the footsteps of my royalty, who rejoices my majesty, perpetuate his presence always, and its arms (the arms of the king's majesty) will never lose their strength." (2) And a little before that, in speaking of the workmanship of the palace: (3) "The gates of fir with solid panels, I have bound them with bands of silver and of brass, and I have furnished the gateways with genii, with stone colossi, which, like the beings they represent, overwhelm (with fear) the breast of the wicked, protecting the footsteps, conducting to their accomplishment the

with these words, the very ones which it was supposed contained the mention of the winged bulls with the human faces, and of the genii: "Some great oxen, fattened, of the same size, young, some mountain eagles, some young falcons, some *ushumme*, some *isi'h* (names of animals of a yet undetermined species), some birds and some fishes, the abundance of the ponds," *alpi maḫḫi bitruti su'ê marûti MAT. TIK. MES, buçi çiḫruti ušumme isḫit nuni u iççuri ḫigal apsî.*

(1) Col. 6, l. 52–57 (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. I., pl. 47).

(2) *Ina kirib ekalli šâtu šedu dumqi lamassi dumqi naçir kibsi šarrutiya muḫadû kabadtiya dariš lištabrû ai ipparkû idâša.*—Comp. the parallel passage of the Khorsabad inscription, l. 189.

(3) Col. 5, l. 38–47.

steps of the king who made them; to right and to left I have caused their bolts to be made."(1) The "two bulls of the gate of the temple E-shakil," the famous pyramid of Babylon, are registered in the divine lists,(2) among the secondary personages composing the court of Marduk, the god of this temple, with its "two doorkeepers,"(3) and the "four dogs of the god."(4) The same lists give the names of the "two bulls of the gate of Êa,"(5) as well as those of "his eight doorkeepers;"(6) and also the names of the "two bulls of the gate of the goddess Damkîna," his consort,(7) and "of the six bulls" of the three gates "of the Sun."(8) In a bilingual document, Accadian with an Assyrian version, of a rather singular nature, and unfortunately fragmentary,(9) which appears to have formed part of the funeral liturgy,(10) we read invocations to the two bulls who flanked the gate of the infernal abode, which were no longer simulacra of stone, but living beings, like the bulls at

(1) *Dalât iç survan ša erisina tabuti mesir kaspi u siparri urakkis va urattâ babâti ša šedi u lamassi ša abni ša kî pî šiknišunu irti limniyutarru naçiru kibsi mušallimu tallakti šarri banišunu imna u šumela ušaçbita sigaršina.*

(2) *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 56, l. 18 and 19, *c–d.*

(3) Ibid., l. 20 and 21, *c–d.*

(4) Ibid., l. 22–25, *c–d.*

(5) Ibid., l. 59 and 60, *c–a.*

(6) Ibid., l. 63–70, *c–d.*

(7) Ibid., l. 61, 62, *c–d.*

(8) Id., ibid., pl. 58, l. 17–20, *a–b.*—See F. Lenormant, *Études cunéiformes*, II., p. 20 et seq.

(9) *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 23, 1.

(10) See Fr. Lenormant, *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldäer*, p. 178 et seq.

the gates of the celestial palaces of the gods. The following is what is said "in the ears of the bull which stands to the right of the bronze enclosure:"

"Great Bull, most great Bull, stamping before the holy gates, he opens the interior; director of Abundance, who supports the god Nirba,(1) he who gives their glory to the cultivated fields,(2) my pure hands sacrifice toward thee."(3)

So it seems that this bull plays the part of a kind of Atlas, carrying the earth with its harvests upon his shoulders. Herewith follows the address "in the ears of the Bull to the left of the bronze enclosure:"

"Thou art the Bull begotten by the god Zû,(4) and at

(1) The god of the harvest.

(2) This evidently means, "he who improves or cultivates the field." It is the same metaphor which in Hebrew expresses the idea of breaking up or improving the ground, by *nîr*, a secondary root derived from the causative *hiphil*, voice of *nûr*, "to shine" (comp. Ewald, *Hebr. Grammat.*, § 235).

(3) *Alpu galluv alpu maḫḫu kabis dalte ellitiv—ipta' kirbiti mukil ḫigalli—eriš Nirba mušullilu akar qatâi elliti iqqâ maḫirka.* [Col. 1, l. 10–16. Tr.]

I limit myself to the citation of the Assyrian version, the meaning of which can be verified by all Semitic scholars.

(4) This is undoubtedly an allusion to the god called in Accadian, Lugalturda, and in Assyrian-Semitic, Sharru-ikdu, a god whose metamorphosis into "the bird of the tempest" is described in the curious bilingual fragment published in *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 14, 1. This bird, in Accadian (AN) *imi-dugud-khu*, "the bird of the tempest," in Assyrian *zû*, "the agitator," is a fabulous animal, a gigantic and legendary bird, like the rôkh of the Arabian tales. A myth, the fragments of which have come down to us (G. Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, pp. 115–119 [Rev. Ed., pp. 117–121. Tr.]), relates how, the bird Zû having stolen one of the chief talismans of the power of the gods, Anu and Bel ordered Ramman and Nabu to kill him,

the entrance of the tomb . . . . . (1) (is) thy act of carrying.

For eternity, the Lady of the magic ring (2) has rendered thee immortal.

Now] the great . . . (3) the confines, the limits,

. . . (3) fixing the portals of heaven and of earth,

. . . (3) that he may guard the gate!" (4)

Such are the readings furnished us from the cuneiform inscriptions upon the nature and significance of the genii, in the form of winged bulls with human countenance, whose images were stationed as guardians at the portals of the edifices of Babylonia and Assyria. But these supernatural beings were not only called *shedi*, "genii," by reason of their nature, and "bulls," from their form.(5) It is also certain

and how these two advised that he should be merely driven from the presence of the gods, and how finally Marduk was charged with the work of destruction in their stead—all of which is inscribed upon several cylinders (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. lxi., No. 7).

(1) Here occurs a word the meaning of which is still obscure, expressed ideographically.

(2) The surname of Allat, Queen of Hell.

(3) Gaps caused by fractures in the clay tablet.

(4) *Alpu ilidti Zî atta va—ana parçi kibiri DI. E nasuka—ana daris AN. NIN. ZI. DA ibrika— . . . rabuti uçurati uçuri— . . . mu]šim parçi šame u irçitiv— . . . pariça lippaqid.* [Col. 1, l. 19–24. Tr.]

(5) As may have been seen by the preceding examples, this last appellation has never yet been met with, except in texts of a religious and literary character; it is unknown to historic inscriptions.

But the symbolic creatures of which we are speaking are sometimes designated therein by the terms *arḫu*, one of the synonyms of the conception "ox," the meaning of which has been determined by Fritz Hommel (*Die Namen der Sæugethiere bei den Südsemitischen Vœlkern*, pp. 227 and 432), and *rîmu*, the proper

that they were given the name of *kirubi.*(1) A talismanic monument in the collection of M. Louis de Clercq, bearing a magic formula which we find repeated upon a great number of analogous objects, employs the term kirûb (written phonetically *ki-ru-bu*), where *shed*, or the corresponding ideographic group, is used elsewhere.(2) Hence it follows that with the Chaldeo-Assyrians, from the tenth to the fifth century before our era, the kirûb, whose name is identical with the Hebrew kerûb, was the winged bull with a human head.

There is no reason for doubting that the Israelites, during the times of the Kings and the Prophets, pictured to themselves the kerûbîm under this very form. Most assuredly, the kerûbîm, as there described, are animals, *ḥayyôth*,(3) nay, quadrupeds, for a kerûb is sometimes used for Yahveh (4) to ride

meaning of which is "buffalo." Thus in Layard, *Inscriptions*, pl. 41, l. 34, we hear of *arḫi çaçâti*, "sculptured bulls;" comp. also the prism of Asshur-aḫ-idin, Col. 5, l. 17 [*Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. I., pl. 47. Tr.]. For this use of the word *rîmu*, see two plain passages: *rîmi naṭruti sikur babâni ešrêti Elamti*, "the buffaloes that guard the enclosure of the gates of the temples of Elam" (G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 230, l. 96); *rîmi dalâti babi ina zaḫali namriš ubanniv*, "I have caused to be made lustrously in beaten bronze the buffaloes and the leaves of the gates" (*Nabu-kudurri-uçur*, Inscription of the East India Company, Col. 3, l. 59–61). [*Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, vol. I., pl. 54. Tr.]

(1) Schrader, *Jenæer Literaturzeitung*, 1874, No. 15, p. 218; *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, vol. I., p. 126.

(2) *Kirubu damqu lippaqid*, "may the propitious kirûb guard!" instead of the ordinary *šedu damqu lippaqid*, "may the propitious genius guard!"

(3) Ezekiel i. and x., passim.

(4) 2 Sam. xxii. 11; Psalm xviii. 11.

upon. Their feet are "feet without articulation, shod like a calf."(1) Elsewhere, as we have seen, *kerûb* is an equivalent for *shôr*, "bull." But at the same time they are furnished with one or several pairs of wings. I should not attempt in this place to undertake a complete archeological commentary upon the famous vision of the Merkâbâh, of which we have a twofold description in chapters I. and X. of the prophet Yeḥezqêl, and the study of which, from the standpoint of its comparison with the remains of Assyrian art, has already furnished the subject of a very interesting memoir by M. Holmboe.(2) It will suffice for me to observe that, excepting in one doubtful point, to which we shall presently recur—that of the wheels going before the symbolic animals, we have the plastic illustration of this vision of the prophet in the engraving of an Assyrian cylinder in the British Museum.(3)

Upon the waves, designated as usual by undulating lines,(4) floats a marvelous and animated bark, ending at poop and prow with a human bust, displaying half the body. On this bark are seen, in profile, two kirubi, or winged bulls, standing back to back, who turn their human countenance toward the spectator.(5) These two kirubi necessarily suppose

(1) Ezek. i. 7.

(2) *Ezechiels syner og Chaldæernes astrolab*, Christiania, 1866, in 4to.

(3) Reproduced by the phototypic process in H. G. Tomkins' *Studies on the Times of Abraham*, pl. iii., fig. K.

(4) It was on the banks of the river Kebâr, the Habur of the Cuneiform inscriptions, the Chaboras of classic geography, that Yeḥezqêl had his first Vision of the Merkâbâh.

(5) This is precisely the attitude ascribed in 2 Chron. iii. 13, to

the existence of two others, hidden by them, who support the other side of the great shield which they carry upon their shoulders. On this shield is a throne, and seated thereon a bearded god, clad in a long robe, wearing a high tiara, or cidaris, on his head, holding in his hand a short sceptre and a large ring, an unadorned circle; (1) a personage of inferior size stands beside the god, as awaiting his commands; this is evidently his angel, his *malâk,* as they called it in Hebrew; his *shukkal,* as it was expressed in Assyrian; (2) he it is who is to fill the office of mediator, for purposes of communication between the god and the adorer who contemplates him in an attitude of devotion.

All this offers a remarkable similarity to the description given by Yeḥezqêl of the four *ḥayyôth* or

the two kerûbîm made of wild olive wood and overlaid with gold, who adorned the wall at the end of the *debîr,* in the temple of Shelômôh (Solomon), 1 Kings vi. 23–29; 2 Chron. iii. 10–13.

(1) It is difficult, in the actual condition of our knowledge, to give a precise name to this god, beside whom the symbol of the disk of the planet Venus, placed within the crescent of the moon, is twice repeated, on either side of his head. The inscription on the relic throws no light on this point, for the owner of the seal announces himself thereupon to be "servant of the planet Venus," represented as a goddess, a special form of Ishtar, whose figure I recognized beyond question on another cylinder (*Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma,* 1879, pl. vi., No. 3). Perhaps we may here have Shin, the moon god, father of Ishtar, sailing in "the bark of the image that rises," the celestial bark, of which we hear in the *Cuneiform Inscrip. of West. Asia,* vol. II., pl. 62, l. 47, *e–f.*

(2) On the conception of a *šukkallu,* or angel, for each god, among the Chaldeo-Assyrians, see Fr. Lenormant, *Études sur quelques parties des Syllabaires Cunéiformes,* § iii.

kerûbîm, two and two, back to back, and going "each one straight forward,"(1) toward the four quarters.(2)

"Above the heads of the creatures there was the appearance of a canopy (*râqîa'*) of resplendent crystal, stretched over their heads above.(3)

. . . .

"And above the canopy that was over their heads, there was the appearance of a sapphire stone, in the shape of a throne; and on this shape of a throne appeared like the figure of a man, placed upon it, above.

"And I saw like enamel (*hashmal*), like fire, within which was this man, and which shone all round about; from his loins upward, and from his loins downward, I saw as of fire, and as a shining light, with which he was surrounded.

"As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud on a day of rain, such was the appearance of this shining light that surrounded him; it was the vision of the image of the glory of Yahveh."(4)

The vision of the tenth chapter adds another actor, corresponding again to one of the personages carved upon the Assyrian cylinder; this is "the man clothed in linen, carrying a writer's case by his side," who receives the commands of Yahveh, seated upon his throne above the kerûbîm, and executes them as an angel or messenger.(5)

It is true that Yeḥezqêl adds to the kerûbîm of

(1) Ezek. i. 9 and 12. (2) Id., x. 11.
(3) Ezek. i. 22.
(4) Ezek. i. 26–28; comp. x. 1, 18 and 19.
(5) Ezek. ix. 2, 3 and 11; x. 2 and 6.

his visions, in order to complete their symbolism, certain features which we have never yet seen represented upon the Assyrian monuments in their figures of winged bulls or kirubi; he makes them more complex in appearance. His kerûbîm have "a form of a man's hand under their wings,"(1) and we are unacquainted with any Assyrian bulls furnished with arms, though this peculiarity may be observed in the figures of winged lions with human heads, genii of the same nature as the bulls, and who occasionally replace them,(2) flanking one of the gates of the Palace of Nimroud.(3) The kerûbîm of the Merkâbâh of Yeḥezqêl have not only two, but four, wings,(4) two lifted up and two covering their back.(5) Instead of a single human face, they have four faces, set in pairs, to the right and to the left, one of a man, one of a bull, one of a lion, one of an eagle,(6) and these four faces, borrowed from creatures which combine all the emblems of strength, united thus in the kerûbîm those forms which Chaldeo-Assyrian symbolism borrowed from nature in combining the four types of celestial, luminous and protecting genii, as we find them upon the monuments.(7)

(1) Ezek. i. 8; x. 8 and 21.

(2) Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, pl. 3. (3) Id., *ibid.*, pl. 42.

(4) Ezek. i. 6; x. 21. (5) Id. i. 41.

(6) Ezek. i. 6 and 10; x. 14 and 21.

(7) Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire des fragments de Bérose*, p. 138.—I do not purpose following in this place the history of the adoption of these four animal types by Christian symbolism, which has made them the emblems of the four evangelists. I will limit myself to a reference to the article *Évangélistes* in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*, of Abbe Martigny.

And, lastly, the Prophet's kerûbîm are covered with eyes, over all their body and over their wings.(1) But it has always been an easy matter for poets and prophets to describe complex combinations of forms, which artists have found more difficulty in realizing by means of the plastic art. Besides which, we are yet far from knowing all the religious types created by Chaldeo-Assyrian art, and farther yet from recognizing all the variations of which these types were susceptible. Not a year passes which, in this regard, by means of the discovery of new monuments, does not yield us unexpected revelations. All that we so far possess of specimens of the antique sculpture of Babylonia and Assyria does not include all the varied and bizarre combinations of animal forms described by fragment No. 1 of Berossus, as reproduced in painting upon the walls of the temple of Bel-Marduk, at Babylon, where they were supposed to be monsters of the first chaotic creation, making part of the train of the goddess Thavatth-Omoroca (*Tiamat-um-Uruk*), personification of primordial humanity. In the same way, specimens of the lyric religious poetry of Babylon and Chaldea, so far deciphered, delineate certain strange types, recalling the unbridled fancies of the plastic imagination of the Hindus, which do not appear on any known monument, but which art doubtless attempted to portray.(2) For

(1) Ezek. x. 12.

(2) Thus, we have never yet come upon the image of the seven-headed snake, to which we lately had occasion to refer, p. 109, note 2. A bilingual Accadian hymn, with an interlinear Assyrian version, describes a god as a he-goat with six heads (*Cuneiform*

instance, it seems certain that they must at some time have depicted the kerûbîm with several faces, since Yeḥezqêl describes in the following words those which, alternately with the palm-trees, decorated the frieze around the interior of the temple at Jerusalem: "Each kerûb had two faces, a man's face turned one way toward the palm-tree, and a lion's face turned the other way toward the other palm-tree; and it was in this wise all around the house."(1)

I waive the question, still extremely obscure, in regard to the kerûbîm of the Ark of the Covenant.(2) "The kerûbim,"—these are the words of the directions given by God himself to Môsheh for the construction of the ark,—"the kerûbîm shall stretch their wings above it, covering the propitiatory with their wings, and facing one another, and the kerûbîm shall have their faces turned toward the propitiatory (Mercy Seat)."

This description can in no way apply to the kirubi of the Assyrian type, in the shape of bulls, whose extended wings, according to the direction which was always given them, and in which they spring from the body, were not capable of covering the propitiatory, or lid of the ark, unless they had been placed back to back. The passage just cited agrees far better with those figures of human shape

Inscrip. of West. Asia, vol. IV., pl. 30, 1, rev., l. 11). Here we have another combination to which no analogy is offered by any known monument.

(1) Ezek. xli. 19.

(2) Exod. xxv. 18–22; 1 Sam. iv. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 2; 1 Kings viii. 6 and 7; 1 Chron. xxviii. 18.

which often confront us upon Egyptian monuments, placed face to face on either side of the Naos of the gods, and stretching out their arms, furnished with great wings, as though to envelop them.(1) All else about the sacred furnishings of the Tabernacle or *Ôhel-mô'êd* is exclusively Egyptian in form, as well as the sacerdotal costumes,(2) as was most natural, since this was immediately after the Exodus. Not the remotest trace of Chaldeo-Assyrian influence may be perceived, and the introduction of a symbolic type belonging so exclusively to the civilization on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, as did that of the winged bulls with human faces, is so strikingly at variance with all the other surroundings as to seem highly improbable.

It would appear, then, that in *Exodus* the term *kerûb* does not describe the same figure as in the historic books of the time of the Kings and Pro-

(1) *Description de l'Egypte, Antiquités*, Planches, vol. I., pl. xi. and xii.; Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of Ancient Egyptians*, ed. of 1878, vol. III., pp. 357 and 358; Lepsius, *Denkmæler aus Ægypten und Æthiopien*, part III., pl. xiv.

It should, however, be noticed here that in these representations the winged figures embrace the lower part of the Naos, while the kerûbîm of the Ark of Yahveh were placed above its lid. Besides which, the Ark, as described in the twenty-fifth chapter of Exodus, is not a structure which has more height than depth, like the Naos of the Egyptian gods; it is a chest broader than it is high. Yahveh took up his abode thereon, above the propitiatory or covering, between the wings of the kerûbîm (which is, however, an Egyptian presentation), that is to say, exteriorly, while the gods of Egypt were reputed as hidden in the interior of the Naos of the sacred barks, behind hermetically closed doors.

(2) See, regarding this last point, the book of the lamented Abbé Ancessi, *L'Egypte et Moïse*, Paris, 1875.

phets.[1] It may be, too, that this name, signifying "a strong, powerful being," was applied to various emblematic images according to the epochs; and in this way the Count de Vogüé[2] has been led to suppose that the term kerûbîm should be understood to mean all "the symbolic figures, the elements of which are borrowed from the animal kingdom, as the sphinx, winged bulls with human face, bizarre conceptions, infinitely varied in combination by the oriental imagination, according to the taste and beliefs of each

(1) It should be remembered, furthermore, that the kerûbîm of the Ark were remodeled by Shelômôh after designs furnished by his father David (1 Chron. xxviii. 18). At this epoch the Egyptian influence was no longer supreme in its sway over the Hebrews. The Assyro-Babylonian influence balanced it, and in our descriptions of the Temple we recognize a combination of elements from both sources. It is very possible that the new kerûbîm, then executed, may have been different from the ancient ones as described in *Exodus*. In fact, there are strong reasons for supposing that from that time on they were kirubi after the Assyrian type. Indeed, it is stated that they formed a Merkâbâh (1 Chron. xxviii. 18), upon which Yahveh was seated (Psalm xcix. 1), and which must have been similar to the one seen by Yeḥezqêl. Moreover, these new kerûbîm of the ark, upon which rested the glory of Yahveh, suggested the idea of the poetic image, which pictures him as mounted upon a kerûb-bull (2 Sam. xxii. 11; Psalm xviii. 11). It does not then seem improbable that, after the ark had been surmounted by veritable kerûbîm, the description was applied to the quite different figures which formerly occupied the same place, and described in the twenty-fifth chapter of *Exodus* by a proleptic catachresis. In treating so obscure a subject, one can but deal in hypotheses, and several equally admissible present themselves in this connection. It is wiser to indicate them all than to try and make a systematic choice of any one, which it will be impossible to demonstrate.

(2) *Le Temple de Jerusalem*, p. 33.

nation, but alike in this, that they are all the emblem of divine attributes."

In this connection we may, perhaps, find some light thrown upon the subject by the Assyrian vocabulary, which has already furnished us with the positive sense of the word *kirub*. In this idiom, a word nearly related to *kirubu*, derived from the same root, and differing from it only by a slight shade of vocalization, *kurubu*, is the name of a large species of bird of prey,—an eagle or vulture.(1) In the Egyptian monuments the gods are often represented between the forward-stretching wings of sparrow-hawks or vultures, placed face to face, and birds of this kind often enfold with their wings the divine Naos. The directions given by God in Exodus for the furnishing and adorning of the Tabernacle are of a stamp that rigorously exclude every figure susceptible of an idolatrous character, which is far from being the case to the same extent in what we know of the temple of Shelômôh. In the matter of plastic images, none are admitted save only the kerûbîm, which are not only placed upon the ark, but whose representations are woven into the hangings of the *Mishkân*,(2) and the veil which separates the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies.(3)

From the standpoint of these commands, simple animal figures presented fewer suggestions of danger than images which, in the paganism of the neighboring nations, represented genii, or divinities to whom

(1) Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, p. 107.

(2) Exod. xxvi. 1.

(3) Exod. xxvi. 31.

worship was rendered. It may, therefore, be conjectured that the first kerûbîm of the ark, those described in *Exodus*, were *kurubi* rather than *kirubi;* or, in other words, great birds, eagles or vultures, with forward-extended wings, shadowing the covering or propitiatory. In a graphic restoration of the Ark of the Covenant in the Tabernacle, it would be at this last point that I should be most likely to pause.

In any case, the kerûbîm set to guard the entrance to Gan-'Êden are undoubtedly the human-faced bulls peculiar to the architecture of the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and this is one of the points where the Chaldeo-Babylonian coloring of the story is most marked. They watch at the gate of the garden of Paradise, after the manner of those whose images were stationed at the gates of palaces, temples, and cities. Their office is absolutely identical, and, as Knobel (1) has justly remarked, the use of the article before the word kerûbîm denotes an image which one was in the habit of seeing continually, and to which the mind was perfectly accustomed. This indicates, as the birthplace and cradle of the story, a civilization which represented genii or angels, under the form of kirubi, as charged with the duty of prohibiting the entrance to a certain exclusive locality.

With the kerûbîm, Yahveh stationed at the gate of the Gan-'Êden, "to keep the way of the tree of Life," the *lahaṭ haḥereb hammithhappeketh.* This is again one of the most obscure of expressions, and

(1) *Die Genesis*, 2d Ed., p. 51. [3d Ed., by Dillmann, p. 95. Tr.]

it is necessary to weigh each word carefully, in order to determine its meaning.

There is no question here of a weapon placed in the hands of each of the kerûbîm. This is an object apart, independent, singular, while the kerûbîm are plural; in other words, there are two of them, one on each side of the gate; nor do the angels, under the form of winged bulls, hold it in their hands; the *lahaṭ haḥereb* is not put in motion—turned about—by external action; endowed with proper motion, it turns upon itself; this fact is clearly indicated by the use of the participle of the reflective voice hithpa'el.(1) I have translated "the flaming blade of the sword which turns," in order not to lose sight of the meaning admitted in this connection for the word *lahaṭ* by every version since the Septuagint. But this traditional meaning, though philologically most acceptable, is not certain. It stands alone, thus taken, while the word *lahaṭ* reappears in another passage of the Pentateuch,(2) this time with the certain meaning of "spell, enchantment, magical prodigy," *lehâṭîm* there being the synonym of *lâṭîm*.(3) Hence we might translate: "The revolving phenomenon of the curved sword." In fact, *ḥereb* means properly, scimetar,(4) or sword, curved sickle-like, called in Egyptian *khopesh*, in Assyrian *sapar* and *namzar*.

(1) Following the tonic accent, *hammithhappeketh* refers to *lahaṭ*, and not to *ḥereb*.

(2) Exod. vii. 11.

(3) Comp. Exod. vii. 22; viii. 3 and 14. [A. V., chap. viii. 7 and 18. Tr.]

(4) See Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, lib. v., chap. xv., vol. II., p. 760, ed. London, 1663.

In any case, whether we understand its name as signifying "flame," consequently "flaming blade," or else "spell, magical prodigy," the *lahat haḥereb hammithhappeketh* stands in a relation to the kerûbîm at the gate of Gan-'Êden, which curiously suggests that existing between the kerûbîm and the wheels in the double vision of the Merkâbâh of the prophet Yeḥezqêl.

"I looked, and behold, there were four wheels beside the kerûbîm, one wheel beside each kerûb, and the color of the wheels was as the appearance of a tarshîsh stone. (1)

"And in their appearance all four had the same form, as it were a wheel in the midst of another wheel. In going they went on their four sides, and they turned not in their going, but they went straight forward, without turning in their going.

. . . .

"When the kerûbîm went, the wheels went close to them, and when the kerûbîm unfurled their wings to rise from the earth, the wheels turned not from beside them.

"When they stopped, the wheels stopped; and when the ones rose up, the others rose with them, for the spirit of the creätures was in them."(2)

The wheels in question were "on the ground,"(3) "under the kerûbîm;"(4) consequently laid flat,

(1) Ordinarily this is translated "chrysolite," or "topaz," and this traditional interpretation would seem to be exact. The gem, *tîrišaššu,* is also known from the cuneiform texts; for instance, in the inscription of Nabu-kudurri-uçur, called that "Of the East India Comp.," col. 4, l. 6. [*Cun. Ins. West. Asia,* vol. I., pl. 55. Tr.]

(2) Ezek. x. 9–17; comp. i. 15–21.

(3) Ezek. i. 15.

(4) Ezek. x. 2 and 6.

serving as pedestals for the symbolic creatures, and their rotation took place in a horizontal plane, a fact which explains the name *galgal*, "whirlwind," given to them.(1) It explains, furthermore, how their circumference, which was turned fully upon the spectator, could have been full of eyes all around; (2) and when the prophet says "that they had a circumference and a height that were dreadful,(3) the second dimension refers to the breadth of their rims. We may thus picture them to ourselves like circular drums of immense height, turning rapidly upon their vertical axes.

At the gate of the Gan-'Êden, we do not hear of a *lahat hahereb* beside each kerûb, like the wheel of Yeḥezqêl's vision; there is but one, while the kerûbîm are two. It should then be conceived as in the midst, with the kerûbîm to the right and left, not on the ground, but suspended at a certain height in the air, where it turns upon itself, moving with its own proper motion of rotation, like the wheels of the prophet. As to this motion of rotation, I make no hesitation in concluding that it is only possible to think of it as occurring on a horizontal plane, just like the wheels, for this is the most likely fashion in which, when advancing with the kerûbîm against the irreverent intruder at the forbidden gate, it would strike and cut him in pieces as soon as it should graze him.

It is most evident that here, as always, the symbolic image has been supplied by a material object,

(1) Ezek. x. 13. (2) Ezek. i. 18. (3) Ezek. i. 18.

ready at hand, such as a sharp weapon, designed for hurling, which, cast from a distance, would make the same kind of wound in striking as a sword, by the horizontally rotating motion imparted to it in the act of throwing. This style of weapon is well known, being the *tchakra* of the Hindus, a disk with sharp edges, hollow at the centre, which is flung horizontally, after having been whirled around the fingers, in order to impart to it a rapid revolving motion. The similarity has not escaped the quick observation of Obry, who, most reasonably, according to my view, has identified the *lahaṭ haḥereb hammithhappeketh* of *Genesis* with the *tchakra* of India.(1) Only, since the use of the sharp-edged disk was then unknown, save among the Hindus, he found therein an indication of the Aryan origin of the narrative and of its symbolism.

On this point I differ from this most ingenious scholar. The sharp disk which is flung in giving it a horizontal motion is not exclusively confined to India. Even though we may not yet have discovered its representation upon the monuments of Assyro-Babylonian art, even though its common use at the great epoch of the Assyrian empire may be granted uncertain for serious reasons, yet this weapon was known and used by the inhabitants of Chaldea and Babylonia in the most ancient periods of their history, and traces of its use may be found in religious poetry.

(1) In his remarkable dissertation on *Le berceau de l'espèce humaine chez les Indiens, les Perses, et les Hébreux* (Amiens, 1858), p. 165.

We have clear proof of this in a fragment of lyric poetry, originally set forth in Accadian, the text of which has come down to us, accompanied by an interlined Assyrian translation, on one of the clay tablets of the British Museum.(1) It is a song of triumph, a sort of dithyrambic, of a warrior god to his victorious arms; perhaps it may be Marduk, when about to engage in his cosmogonic struggle against the monster Tiamat. He is armed with a complete panoply,—grappling-hook (*namzar*), lance (*ariktu*), lasso (*shibbu*), bow (*qashtu*), club (*zizpan*), and shield (*kabab*); furthermore, he holds a disk in each hand. This is his most formidable weapon, the one which assures to him the victory, one upon which he dwells with most satisfaction, describing it with a perfect wealth of metaphors. These varied metaphors, which seem at first sight contradictory, are reconcilable only when allowed to apply to a weapon for slinging, shaped like a "disk" or like the "sun," moving horizontally with a gyratory motion, like that of a "waterspout," having a hollow centre, that the tips of the fingers can pass through, whence seven divergent rays issue toward a circumference, about which are studded "fifty heads,"—fifty sharp points.

(1) *Cuneiform Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 19, No. 2. Oppert made the first translation of this fragment, and since then it has been taken up by several scholars in succession, who each made the meaning of the text plainer. The last version, and the clearest, as I think, is one which I have given, with a philological analysis, in my *Études Accadiennes*, vol. III., p. 27 et seq. I refer the reader to this work as a justification of my translation, and will therefore refrain from reproducing in a note either the Accadian or Assyrian transcription of the text.

The reader may judge himself as to further details by the quotations which follow:

"In my right hand I hold my disk of fire; in my left hand I hold my disk of carnage.(1)

The sun with fifty faces, the high weapon of my divinity, I hold it.

The weapon which devours entirely, like the ogre, I hold it.

That which breaks the mountains, the powerful weapon of the god Anu, I hold it.

That which bends the mountains, the fish with the seven fins, I hold it.

The *littu* of the battle, which devastates and desolates the rebellious land, I hold it.

. . . .

The whirpool of the battle, the weapon of fifty heads, I hold it.

Like unto the enormous serpent, with seven heads, unto a wave which divides itself into seven branches.

Like unto the serpent which lashes the waves of the sea, (attacking) the enemy in front.

Devastating in the violence of battles, dominatrix of heaven and of earth, the weapon of seven heads, I hold it.

. . . .

The weapon which fills the land with the terror of its vast strength.

(1) This "disk of fire" and this "disk of carnage" are so highly esteemed, as having in themselves "a spirit" like the wheels of Yeḥezqêl's vision, a life of their own like the *lahat haḥareb* of *Genesis*, that they are finally invoked, as personal gods, side by side with Shamash (the Sun) and his spouse Gula (*Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 66, rev., l. 31 and 32, *b*).

In my right hand powerfully, the projectile of gold and of onyx, I hold it."

Thus we have in one of the most ancient texts of Chaldaic poetry the distinct allusion to a mythological weapon, entirely analogous to the *tchakra* of the Indian heroes, and corresponding, in a very remarkable manner, to the idea which is most naturally evoked by the very expressions of the Bible texts as to the nature of the "revolving sword," placed with the kerûbîm at the gate of the garden of 'Êden.(1) It may have been observed that in the fragment just cited the weapon is designated—and this completes the similarity—by the word *liṭtu*, which is the regular Assyrian correspondent of the Hebrew *lahaṭ*. The Assyrian version thus translates the ideogram used in the Accadian text, a peculiar ideogram for which the *Cuneiform Syllabary*, A, No. 134, gives confidently the reading *silam* in the pre-Semitic idiom of Chaldea. The word—with its consonantal structure *lhṭ*, vocalized in the Hebrew into *lahaṭ*, and in the Assyrian into *liṭ* (for *lihiṭ*)—was therefore employed to designate this kind of weapon in the different languages of the Semitic family. Still, the Assyrian

(1) Mr. Fox Talbot (*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. V., p. 1 et seq.) believes that he has found, in the first fragment of the tablet which relates the struggle between Bel-Marduk and Tiamat, in the description of the preparations of the god before the battle, something analogous to this "revolving sword," and Abbé Vigouroux has followed him (*La Bible et les Découvertes Modernes*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 207). But in reality there is nothing like it in this text, of which a more exact translation may be found, accompanied by the interlinear transcription of the text, in the first appendix at the end of this volume, I. *F.*

gives us no more decisive information than does the Hebrew upon the etymological sense of the word, for, so far, we are not acquainted with a second example in the texts of this language. It is true that there are two verbal roots *lâhaṭ*, one signifying "to flame," the other "to envelop, cover, hide;" it is the second which gave *lahaṭ* "illusion, enchantment," to the Hebrew. But we remain in the same uncertainty as to knowing from which of the two may be derived our word *lahaṭ=liṭ*, the kind of weapon which we have attempted to define, and therefore cannot tell whether it be thus named as "flaming" or as "enchanted and magic." Let us add, that the notion of "enveloping" is always intimately associated with that of "surrounding" and of "going around," and that, consequently, a name derived from the second of the roots we have indicated might agree perfectly with the gyratory motion of the object to which the name applies.

However that may be, the "revolving sword" of the third chapter of Genesis, as well as the kerûbîm, is found again in the cuneiform documents, the thing no less than the word. Here again we are compelled to settle down upon Chaldea as the point whence the narration started. But it is strange that the use of the weapon analogous to the *tchakra* of India, which is designated by the expression *lahaṭ haḥereb hammithhappeketh*, does not make its appearance at the Assyrian epoch, either in the texts or on the monuments, and neither do we find a trace of it among the peoples of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine in their historic age. In Chaldea we come upon a notice of

it in an inscription dating back to the remotest past of this country, just as among the Hebrews it is found alone in the traditional narration of the origin of humanity, as given in the Jehovist document. This affords, it seems to me, an important indication of the extremely remote date at which we must place this story, not only as to subject, but for the determination of at least some of its essential terms. The material detail, which we have laid so much stress upon, and which has a positive and tangible character, carries us back with much greater show of probability to the age of the migration of the Tera'ḥites than to that time when the influence of the civilization of Assyria, backed by force of arms, wielded an irresistible power over the kingdoms of Isrâël and Yehûdâh.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FRATRICIDE AND FOUNDATION OF THE FIRST CITY.

At that epoch when the Semitic idiom, qualified by the Assyrian, had come to be exclusively the spoken language of Babylon and Nineveh, the twelve months of the year were designated by those names, subsequently adopted by the Jews and the majority of the Semites, which, philologically, are extremely difficult of explanation, though in the cuneiform texts this nomenclature rarely occurs in phonetic characters, being more frequently replaced by an ideographic sign appropriate to each month. The meaning of these ideographic signs has no connection with the meaning which has been found to lurk under the corresponding Semitic name. Hence they constitute a second symbolic and religious nomenclature, perfectly distinct, and a valuable tablet in the British Museum (1) discloses to us the fact that this

(1) See Norris, *Assyrian Dictionary*, vol. I., p. 50; Fr. Lenormant, *Les premières civilisations*, vol. II., p. 71 et seq.; Sayce, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. III., pp. 161–164; Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2d Ed., p. 70, No. 3. In the fourth appendix at the end of this volume, table 1, we give the list of months of the Chaldeo-Babylonian year, with all their different designations.

designation of each month by a simple ideogram, is merely an abbreviation of an ancient nomenclature, dating back to the ante-Semitic civilization of Chaldea, when the full appellations of the months all referred to myths. We are acquainted with some of these myths, through the fragments of epic narrations which George Smith has brought to light, and there is no doubt that the greater part of them belong to the cycle of cosmogonic traditions, besides being related to the sign corresponding with the month in the Zodiac. Thus the name of the eleventh month in the year is "Month of the curse of rain," its myth being the deluge, and its zodiacal sign Aquarius.

The third month of the year is, in the mythical nomenclature, "the month of brick-making," and in fact a ritual command among the Babylonians and Assyrians ordained for this month the liturgic ceremony for the moulding of bricks for sacred buildings and royal edifices. (1) Religion in this case conse-

(1) See chiefly the indications of the inscription called "of the Barrel-Cylinder of Sargon" (*Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. I., pl. 36, l. 47–51; Oppert, *Les inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan*, p. 18, l. 57–61). We modify the details of Oppert's translation in some particulars, in accordance with the progress made in Assyrian philology since 1870.

"In the month of the first summer, the month of the royal twin, of the god Great Stag (surname common to Êa and to Shin), of the god who exercises dominion over the heavens, who covers my side with his protection, of the god illuminator of heaven and earth, of the hero among the gods, Shin, (the month) which, by the decrees of Anu, Bel and Êa, the god with the bright eye, that bricks be made in it, in order to build a city, or a house, has been called 'the month of the brick,' in the day of the invoca-

crated a usage resulting from the physical climatic conditions. In Chaldea and Babylonia the majority of the edifices were built of bricks simply dried in the sun. The third month of the year (Sivan, May-June) coincides with the period when the waters of the Euphrates and Tigris, which have been rising during March and April, begin to fall; the condition of the soil left by the retreating waters makes it easy to mould the bricks at that particular time, and then to have them dry in the sun, already burning in its heat, though not yet fierce enough to crack the raw brick, which would inevitably happen if they were dried in July or August. Seeing as we do, in the royal inscriptions, the importance attached to the ceremony of brick-making from the religious stand-

tion to the son of the Lord of the vast understanding (Marduk), to Nabu, scribe of the universe, mover of all things of the gods (the days of invocation to Nabu are the 4th, 8th and 17th of the month), I have caused his bricks to be moulded (those for the new city being built by the king); to Laban, lord of the brick foundations, and to Nergal, son of Bel, I have immolated sheep as victims; I have caused flutes to be played, and I have raised my hands in invocation. In the month of Ab, the month of the descent of the god Fire, dissipating the damp mists (?), fixing the corner-stone of the city and of the house, I have laid its foundations, I have settled its bricks."

Ina araḫ çîp (the sign *ur* has been substituted for the sign *ip* in the last character, by a mistake of the scribe) *araḫ kâši šarri ili turaḫi rabî iḷi tariç uzza* [*šam*]*e* (the scribe has omitted the ideogram AN) *mušaglim çaddi ili nannar šame irçitiv qarrad ilâni Sin ša ina šimat Aniv Beh u Êa ili bel ini elli ana laban libitti ebiš ala ubita araḫ libitti nabû zikrušu ina yum qâbi ša abal bel šikli palkî Nabu ṭupsar gimri muma'ir kullat ilâni ušalbina libnassu. ana Laban bel ušše libitte u Neurugal ablu ša Bel kirri niqî aqqi sirqu asruq attaši niš qatateya. ina araḫ abu araḫ arad Išî mušbil ambate raṭupte mukin temen ali u biti uššešu addi va ukin libnassu.*

point, and being able to prove decisively its association with the symbolical name of the month, (1) it would be difficult not to believe that it is connected with the myth as well, and that this myth is related to the foundation of a city, doubtless the first city. Now the sign of the third month in the Zodiac was, with the Chaldeans, as with ourselves still, the sign of Gemini; and we find the name "month of the twins" sometimes substituted for that of "month of brick-making," as the designation of *sivan*.(2) How natural, in this connection, to call to mind the Bible story which associates the building of the first city with the first murder, perpetrated by one brother upon another! This tradition, which associates the formation of a city with a fratricide, is in fact one of the ideas common to most nations, of strictly primitive origin, anterior to the dispersion of the great civilized races, and may be traced almost everywhere. It would be a curious study to follow it through all its variations, beginning with Qaîn, who built the first city, Ḥanok, after slaying Habel, and ending with Romulus, who laid the foundations of Rome in the blood of his brother Remus.(3)

(1) Also with its popular name, for *sivan* is manifestly derived from the same root as the Hebrew *sîn*, Aramaic *seyan*, "dirt, clay."

(2) Sayce, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. III., p. 162.

(3) Of course we could not follow out all the details which this study would demand. We will limit ourselves to suggesting them to the scholars whose researches and thoughts are taken up with primitive traditions, and who hold that the scrutiny of the documents and customs of historic epochs go farther toward fixing the origin of the great civilized nations of the Ancient World, than

We will only recall the history of Agamenes and Trophonios, the two mythical builders of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi and of the Treasury of Orchomenes. Agamenes is himself caught in a trap in the Treasury which he helped to build, while attempting to rob it, and his brother Trophonios, in order to save him from a thief's punishment, kills him and carries away his head.(1) The fable is not of Greek invention; it arose originally in the East, for we find it again, in every detail, in the first part of the popular legend which Herodotus gleaned in Egypt in regard to King Rhampsinitus.(2) The circumstance

making use of the method of analogies drawn from the savages of our own day. The most common idea suggested by this mode of study is that the beginnings of a city must be associated with a human sacrifice, that its foundations may be watered with pure blood. It would be easy to trace this idea through the popular traditions of every nation. We will note simply, because this does not take us outside the confines of the Semitic or Syro-Euphratic worlds, the curious legends which the anonymous author of the *Chronicon paschale* (I., pp. 72 and 78, Bonn Ed.) has preserved for us in regard to the foundation of Tarsus in Cilicia and Gortyna in Crete, two cities of Phœnician origin. The heroic founder of each of these cities immolates upon its site a young virgin, whom this very immolation deifies, so that she becomes the Fortune of the city. On the same principle, Romulus and Remus are the two Lares Indigetes of the primitive Rome of the Palatine (Preller, *Rœmische Mythologie*, p. 695), Remus, originally Romus, the murdered brother, from this stand-point taking precedence of his brother and murderer. In all this we have an evident echo of the ancient tradition which connected the foundation of the first city with a murder, that foundation becoming the type of all that followed.

(1) Pausan, IX. 37, 3; Charax *ap* Schol. *ad* Aristophan. *Nub.*, V. 508.

(2) Herod., II. 121.

of the beheading by the murderer-brother, which appears in both narratives, is important, and will furnish us with a guiding thread which we need but follow in order to get back at last to our starting point.

The Roman traditions relate that when Tarquin caused the foundations of Jupiter Capitolinus to be dug, a human head was found in the trench, which, by a prodigy, was still fresh and bleeding, and in this the Etruscan haruspices saw an omen of the future grandeur of the sanctuary and the town.(1) This head, it was added, was that of Olus or Tolus, assassinated by the slaves of his brother,(2) a repetition of the story of Romulus and Remus, with its location on the Capitoline instead of the Palatine hill.(3) I will not dwell upon its similarity with the story of the heads of the Danaïdes' husbands, buried by Danaos, after their murder, under the foundations of the walls of the citadel at Argos,(4) nor the rather extensive cycle of fables which this legend opens to us.(5) But it is impossible not to note that the Capi-

(1) Dionys. Halicarn., IV. 59 et seq.; Tit. Liv., I. 55; Serv. *ad* Virgil, *Æneid*, VIII., v. 345; Aurel. Vict., *De vir illustr.*, VIII. 4; Isidor., *Origin.*, XV., 2.

(2) Arnob., *Adv. gent.*, VI. 7.

(3) It is told, further, that the Etruscan augur, consulted by Tarquin upon the signification of the discovery just made, wished to turn the presage to his own profit, but his son, Argus, betrayed the secret to the king's deputies. The furious augur pursued his son as far as Rome, where he sought refuge, and slew him in the place called Argiletum (Serv. *ad* Virgil, *Æneid*, VIII., v. 345). Another variation of the story of the murder.

(4) Pausan., II., 24, 3.

(5) See Ch. Lenormant, *Nouvelle galerie Mythologique*, p. 43.

toline was first of all the Mount of Saturn,(1) and that the Roman archæologists established a complete affinity between the Capitoline and Mount Cronios in Olympia, from the standpoint of their traditions and religious origin.(2) This Mount Cronios is, as it were, the *Omphalos* of the sacred city of Elis, the primitive centre of its worship. It was at the foot of Cronios that the Olympic games were celebrated, and with the Greeks the institution of the games is always connected with a funereal origin; in point of fact, they take place near a tomb.(3) And, in truth, the Olympian Cronios, like the Capitol, with its head of Olus or Tolus,(4) is a tomb as well as a mountain.(5)

(1) Dionys. Halicarn., I., 34; II., 1; Varr., *De ling. Lat.*, V., 42.

(2) Dionys. Halicarn., I., 34. The historian connects this with the tradition of the colony of Epæans, coming from Elis and settling on the Capitoline.

(3) Ch. Lenormant, *Nouv. gal. Mythol.*, p. 27.

(4) Ch. Lenormant, *Nouv. gal. Mythol.*, p. 41.—The Capitol was also the tomb of the Virgin Tarpeia (Varr., *De ling. Lat.*, V., 42) [ed. Müller, 1833. Tr.], a tomb which was the object of a public cult (Dionys. Halicarn., II., 40; comp. Fest., v. *Tarpeiæ*), and it has been already remarked (Ch. Lenormant, *Nouv. gal. Myth.*, p. 42) that the singular contradictions of the stories relating to the death of Tarpeia show her possibly to have been "the victim devoted to that fate from the foundation of the citadel, and now become its protecting Fortune."

(5) Again we notice that it was at Olympia that Oinomaos beheaded the pretenders to the hand of his daughter Hippodamia, whom he had overcome at the chariot race (Philostrat. Jun., *Icon.*, 9), and that he built the city of Harpinæ (Pausan., VI., 21, 7) over the tomb of these victims of his cruelty, the name of this town seeming to be derived from that of the scimetar of Cronos; just as Danaos built the citadel of Argos over the sepulchre in which he deposited the heads of his daughters' husbands.

It sometimes receives the name of Olympus,(1) and it is related that it held hidden within its bosom the sepulchre of a mysterious personage, whose name was kept secret.(2) Some supposed it to be the giant Ischenos, who, during a famine, offered himself up for the salvation of the people; and others, the enigmatical Taraxippos, whose name, as Pausanias tells us, was the disguise of a god, or a hero, in regard to whose true nature opinions differed widely.(3) There is an evident connection between this mysterious personage, buried under Mount Cronios, and the child Sosipolis, honored by a no less mysterious worship in a sanctuary located at the foot of the same height; (4) his legend being of the same character as that of Ischenos, in supposing him to have been the deliverer of the city. A number of indications go to prove that in the oldest form of the traditions of Olympia, the god or hero entombed in Cronios was called Olympos,(5) and was the Eponym of the city. After the same manner, an Olympos was sometimes substituted for Zeus, in his sacred sepulchre in Crete; (6) and still another Olympos was supposed to be buried under the Phrygian Olympus.(7) All this brings us to the fable of the three Corybantes, the two elder of whom slew their

(1) Tzetz. *ad* Lycophr. *Cassandr.*, v. 42; comp. Schol. *ad* Apollon. Rhod., *Argonaut*, I., v. 598; Strab., VIII., p. 356.

(2) Tzetz. *ad* Lycophr., *Cassandr.*, v. 42.

(3) VI., 20, 8 and 9.

(4) Pausan., VI., 20, 2 and 3; 25, 4.

(5) Ch. Lenormant, *Nouv. gal. Mythol.*, p. 27.

(6) Ptolem. Hephæst., II., p. 17, ed. Roulez.

(7) Schol. *ad* Theocrit. *Idyll.*, XIII., v. 30.

younger brother, cut off his head, and, after crowning it, buried it beneath Olympus,(1) the Phrygian mountain, according to Welcker;(2) the Olympian, according to Charles Lenormant.(3) The same incident was related of the Cabiri,(4) in this particular like the Corybantes, except that a variation was introduced into the story, to the effect that the phallus, not the head, of their brother was what they possessed themselves of. The representations of the event engraved upon the Etruscan mirrors, attest the importance of the fable of the fratricide in the Cabiric mysteries, which had developed so largely in Etruria in the third century B. C.(5)

There are no personages in all Greek Mythology more obscure and complex than the Cabiri and the Corybantes. Their physiognomy and their nature are made up of the most diverse elements, and the consequence is an amalgamation which results in

(1) J. Firmic. Matern., *De error. profan. relig.*, p. 23; Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, p. 16, ed. Potter.

(2) *Griechische Gœtterlehre*, vol. III., p. 179.

(3) *Nouv. gal. Mythol.*, p. 43.—It should be observed here that the Cabiric worship is not unknown at Olympus (Gerhard, *Prodrom. Mythol. Kunsterklærung*, p. 113; *Hyberborisch rœmische Studien*, vol. I., p. 34; Fr. Lenormant, in *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* of Daremberg & Saglio, vol. I., p. 769). It serves as groundwork in grouping the divinities adored in the Prytaneum of that city (Pausan., V., 15, 7), which is the connecting link between the religion of Elis and that of the Lybian Greeks.

(4) Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, p. 16, ed. Potter.

(5) Gerhard, *Ueber die Metallspiegel der Etrusker*, in his *Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen*, vol. II., pp. 227–314; Fr. Lenormant, in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* of Daremberg & Saglio, vol. I., p. 771.

almost inextricable confusion. The Cabiri are, in the first place, the chief deities of one of the principal forms of the Pelasgian religion,(1) and they always appear in this character in Samothracia; similarly, there was in Greece, in early times, a god called Corybas, who was one of the most important personifications of the sun.(2) But in connection with the great Cabiric gods, and associated with Corybas, we find grouped a whole procession of followers (*πρόπολοι*), intermediate between the gods and men, who were also termed Cabiri and Corybantes,(3) and who were finally confounded with the gods themselves in popular mythological stories. Regarded in the light of secondary and ministering deities, or *δαίμονες*, the Cabiri and Corybantes offer the closest resemblance to the Curetes, the Dactyles and the Telchines; like them, they are at once supernatural beings, representatives of the ancient sacerdotal corporations of the primitive ages,(4) and the ancestors and prototypes of the human race.(5) All these varied elements enter into the myth of the fratricide, mixed up in an inextricable fashion; this myth holding a

(1) See my article *Cabiri*, in Daremberg & Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*.

(2) See proofs of this in Maury, *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce antique*, vol. I., p. 199.

(3) Fr. Lenormant, in Daremberg & Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, p. 763.

(4) Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, 2d Ed., vol. I., pp. 514–519; Maury, *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce*, vol. I., pp. 198–207.

(5) Gerhard, *Griechische Mythologie*, §§ 636 and 639.

chief place in the conception of them from the mystical standpoint.(1)

A very ancient syncretism, having its roots in Asia, combined there the primitive tradition of the first murder, which is a fratricide and connected with the founding of the first town, with that account, of the very essence of the old religions of the Pelasgic race, concerning the child-god, whose nature is favorable to man, the genius, who is saviour and mediator, issue of the great mother-goddess, and placed beside her, like the child Zeus beside Rhea, Sosipolis beside Ilithya, Tychon beside Tyche, Iacchos beside Demeter, the child Jupiter beside the Fortuna Primigenia of Præneste,(2) the saviour-genius or Agathodaimon, whose habitual symbols are the serpent and the phallus, the signification of which is in this case adequate.(3) The child-saviour and mediator of the Pelasgian cults is frequently represented as carrying out his work of salvation with the price of his death, and a true passion.(4) This is a root idea in

(1) The story of Trophonios and Agamedes, just related, belongs here, the kinship of these personages to the Cabiri having already suggested itself to Maury (*Histoire des Religions de la Grèce*, vol. I., p. 212).

(2) Gerhard, *Griechische Mythologie*, §§ 155 and 156.

(3) Gerhard, *Griechische Mythologie*, §§ 157–159.—Let us note that it was their dead brother's phallus that the Cabiri carried off and shut up in the chest of their mysteries (Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, p. 16, ed. Potter). The child Sosipolis changes into a serpent (Pausan., VI., 20, 3). In the xxxixth hymn of the Orphic Collection, addressed to the Corybante slain by his brothers, it is said that Demeter, changing his form, made him into the serpent which guards her temple.

(4) Gerhard, *Griechische Mythologie*, §§ 174 and 175.

the myth of the fratricide of the Cabiri, or the Corybantes, for the victim therein becomes the supreme mediator of the mysteries, and after his death his murderer-brothers are simply the ministers of his worship. As in the Cretan myth of Zagreus, assimilated afterwards to the Eleusinian Iacchos, it becomes mixed with the story, fundamental in the religions of Semitic paganism, of the young solar god who dies periodically under the blows of an inimical power, and thereafter comes to life again.(1) In spite of the incontestable intervention of these purely religious symbolic conceptions, linked to the beliefs of a naturalistic pantheism, we may reasonably establish an affinity between the fratricide of the Corybantes, or the Cabiri, and the primordial tradition of the fratricide in the family of the father of humanity, which we find in the fourth chapter of *Genesis*, free from all such alloy. In truth, in some parts of Asia Minor, the three Corybantes, "whom the sun saw the first to germinate from the trunk of trees," were represented as the authors of the human race,(2) just as elsewhere the Curetes,(3) and again, in other traditions, the Titans,(4) murderers of Zagreus.(5) On the other hand, the

(1) Fr. Lenormant, in Daremberg & Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, vol. I., p. 770.

(2) Fragment of Pindar, cited by the author of the *Philosophumena*, v., 7, p. 96, ed. Miller; see Schneidewin, in the *Philologus*, vol. I., p. 421 et seq.

(3) Same fragment.

(4) We will return to this in chapters vii. and x.

(5) See the texts indicated above, p. 52, note 1, which refers the origin of the immaterial part of man to the blood of Zagreus, on which the Titans, his ancestors, were fed.

sacred legends of Lemnos made Cabiros, "initiator of the sacred orgies," the first of mortals,(1) that is, the brother immolated by his brothers,(2) and become the chief Cabiros, indeed the only Cabiros, as worshipped at Thessalonica.(3)

It is true that in the fable of their fratricide there are three Cabiri, or Corybantes, two of them slaying their younger brother; while, in the Bible story, the murder of Hâbel is a drama with two actors. But the Cabiri are sometimes three, sometimes two; (4) indeed, duality is the most ancient form of these gods,(5) and for that reason they are in so many localities identified with the Dioscuri,(6) and quite as much so with the Roman Penates,(7) the pair which is manifested under a human form in the fraternal enemies, Romulus and Remus,(8) and reappears in all the cities of Latium. (9) In the

(1) Fragment of Pindar, cited by the author of *Philosophumena*, v., 7, p. 96, ed. Miller.

(2) Fr. Lenormant, in Daremberg & Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, vol. I., p. 770.

(3) J. Firmic. Matern., *De error. profan. relig.*, p. 23. On the only Cabiros of Thessalonica, see the medals of this town, and also what Lactantius says, *De falsa relig.*, I., 15, 8; Fr. Lenormant, in Daremberg & Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, vol. I., p. 769 et seq.

(4) Fr. Lenormant, in the same work, pp. 759 and 770.

(5) Fr. Lenormant, in the same work, pp. 759–763 and 769.

(6) Fr. Lenormant, in the same work, pp. 759, 760, 763 and 767–769.

(7) Dionys. Halicarn, I., 61 and 68; Macrob., *Saturn*, III., 4; Serv. *ad* Virgil, *Æneid*, I., v. 378; III., v. 148.

(8) Preller, *Rœmische Mythologie*, p. 695.

(9) Comp. what Virgil says (*Æneid*, VII., v. 670) of the divine twins of the Tibur, whom Servius (*a. h. l.*) changes from two to

story of *Genesis* there are but the two sons of Âdâm, at the time of the fratricide, Qaîn and Hâbel, victim and murderer; but subsequently Shêth is born to take the place of Hâbel, and thus the sons of Âdâm, appearing first as two, are three in all, like the sons of Nôaḥ, author of the new post-diluvian race of men, and like their correspondents in the Qaînite genealogy, the three sons of Lemek, are heads of races and inventors of the arts. Qaîn, in some of the Semitic countries, where he was known under this appellation, may and must have been looked upon as a true Cabiros. His name, in fact, lends itself to a double signification, and consequently to one of those paronomasias so much after the taste of Semitic antiquity. We noticed above[1] the meaning adopted and paraphrased by the redactor of the Jehovist document inserted in the fourth chapter of *Genesis*, a meaning philologically entirely justifiable, and making the first-born of Âdâm "the creature, the offspring" *par excellence.* But there is another homophonous word, *qaîn*, coming from the root *qûn*, and not from *qânah*, which means "workman, smith;"[2] this is the same which we find used, among the descendants of Qaîn, as the surname of the inventor of metallurgy, Tûbal Qaîn, "Tûbal the smith."[3] That the name of Qaîn has been some-

three, and what is said by the same Servius (*ad* Virgil, *Æneid*, VII., v. 678) about those of Præneste.

(1) P. 14, note 1.

(2) See Gelpke, *Neutestamentliche Studien*, in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1849, p. 639 et seq.

(3) Genesis iv. 22.

times understood as having this signification,([1]) is proved to us by the fragment of one of the Phœnician cosmogonies, included in the Sanchoniathon of Philo of Byblos.([2]) The first representatives of the human race therein are Technites, "the workman" and "the Autochthon made of earth," Greek translations, through which appear unquestionably, as Renan([3]) has already discovered, the original Semitic appellations, *Qên* for *Qaîn* (following the rules of Phœnician vocalization), and *Âdâm min-hâadâmâth*. "These are they," adds the narrator, "who found out how to mix chopped straw with clay to make bricks, how to dry them in the sun, and to build houses with roofs," a point which brings us back to the tradition of the building of the first town, attributed to Qaîn by the Bible, and the legend of "the month of brickmaking" among the Chaldeo-Babylonians. From these were born Agros and Agrotes, the ancestors of agriculturists and hunters, occupations which allow of the restoration of their Phœnician appellations, *Sadê*, "the man of the field,"([4]) and *Çêd*, "the

([1]) This has been perfectly apprehended by Goldziher, who, in his mythic system, makes a Hephaistos of Qaîn (*Der Mythos bei den Hebræern*, p. 132). [Eng. Trans., Lond. 1877, p. 113. Tr.]

([2]) P. 20, ed. Orelli; see first appendix at the end of this volume, II. *E.*

([3]) *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, new series, vol. XXIII., 2d Part, pp. 267 and 276.

([4]) A curious confusion on the part of the Greek translator, noticed as early as the sixteenth century by Scaliger, brought about the insertion of a sentence to the effect that "Agros is specially honored at Byblos as the greatest of the gods, and that his Naos, carried upon a chariot, enjoyed a high veneration in Phœnicia" (see the representation of the Ark of Astarte, mounted on wheels,

hunter."(1) These are the same who are called Aletes and Titans, probably *Ilîm* and *Nepîlîm;* (2) and their sons were Amynos and Magos (so far it seems impossible to restore the primitive form of these two appellations, which have been greatly changed), who taught men to live in villages and pasture flocks, this last feature indisputably recalling the three sons of Lemek, with whom ended the genealogy of the Qaînites.(3)

In the Phœnician narrative, which we have just analysed according to the fragments of Sanchoniathon, Âdâm and Qaîn seem to be brothers, instead of father and son. But it is a peculiarity of the Cabiri, when there are two of them, to be regarded as holding at times a filial, at times a fraternal, relation to one another. The author of *Philosophumena* tells

which we find upon the coins of Sidon, during the imperial epoch: Mionnet, *Descr. de Méd. Ant.*, vol. V., p. 367 et seq., and the description given by Macrobius, *Saturn.*, I., 23, of that of the god of Heliopolis in Cœlesyria; finally, it would be well to consult on this subject Abbé Greppo, *Recherches sur les temples portatifs des Anciens, à l'occasion d'un passage des Actes des Apôtres*, Lyons, 1834, pp. 9–13). He has confounded *Shaddê*, "the Almighty," with *Sadê*, because in the Phœnician orthography there is no visible difference between the two words.

(1) Schroeder, I think, is wrong in asserting (*Die Phœnizische Sprache*, p. 19) that the root *çûd* in Phœnician simply meant "to fish," and not "to hunt." It was susceptible of both meanings, for the pair, Agreus and Halieus, in Sanchoniathon (p. 18, ed. Orelli), only become intelligible by restoring two original names, bearing a strong resemblance in sound to each other, and both originally derived from the same root.

(2) We will revert to this account in chapter vii., in reference to its analogy with Genesis vi. 1–4.

(3) Genesis iv. 20–22.

us(1)—and he rests his authority upon a fragment of one of the hymns sung during the performance of the Hellenized mysteries of Phrygia(2)—that at Samothracia the name of Âdâm was sometimes given to the first of the Cabiri, the one who took the part of father. Probably it was there an abbreviation of Adamas or Adamastos, a surname frequently bestowed upon Hades,(3) who seems akin to Axiokersos, the first male Cabiros of Samothracia.(4) But in the third century of the Christian era, the Samothracian Adam was compared with the Âdâm of the Bible, and it was said that the name designated in him the archetypal man,(5) a kind of Âdâm Qadmôn. The comparisons we have just made show that perhaps this idea is not so foreign to the fundamental and original conception of the cult of the sacred isle in the Thracian sea as was formerly supposed. There is nothing even now so obscure, so difficult to settle, as the position of the Phœnician elements in the religion of Samothracia; among modern scholars, some consider that they preponderate, and see a Kenânite importation in the Cabiric cult; others absolutely deny this Semitism, and regard the gods of Samothracia as exclusively Pelasgian; others again think that a Phœnician influence is grafted upon a Pelasgic stock, and that an assimilation began at an ancient epoch

(1) V., 8, p. 108, ed. Miller.

(2) V., 9, p. 118, ed. Miller; see Schneidewin, in the *Philologus*, vol. III., p. 261.

(3) Valckenaer *ad* Theocrit., *Idyll.*, II., v. 34.

(4) Mnas. Patar. et Dionysodor. *ap* Schol. *ad* Apollon. Rhod., *Argonaut.*, I., v. 917; Etymol. Magn. et Gud., v. Κάβειροι.

(5) *Philosophumena*, V., 8, p. 108, ed. Miller.

between the *Κάσειροι* or *ΚάϜειροι*, personifications of subterranean and demiurgic fire, and the Kabîrîm of Phœnicia. In this uncertainty, although the name of the Samothracian Adam may be traced to a most probable Greek source, yet it would be impossible to contradict decidedly the opinions of such as are inclined to give it a Semitic origin. As a matter of fact, near the Bœotian Thebes, an undoubted centre of Phœnician colonization, where the Asiatic traits crop out with singular energy in the local religion, the two male Cabiri, associated with Demeter Cabiria, and regarded as the ancestors of the priestly family of Cabiri, who served in the sanctuary during the heroic ages, are named Prometheus and Aitnaios.(1) These names are peculiarly significant: Prometheus, in the most ancient traditions, is the father of Deucalion, from whom descend post-diluvian men;(2) he it was, beside, who endowed men with intellect, by communicating to them the fire stolen from heaven, in spite of the prohibition of the gods; later, it was he who formed of earth the first ancestors of mankind; so that he is at once the author of the human race in the order of generation, and a Technites of high degree. As to Aitnaios, his appellation shows him to be a hero of that sort of labor, based upon the use of fire, which his father, Prometheus, had taught him—a worker in metals and a smith. This pair, Prometheus and Aitnaios, considering the two as standing to each other in the relation of father and son, correspond with Autocthon and Technites in

(1) Pausan., IX., 25, 5–7.

(2) We will return to this point in the tenth chapter.

Sanchoniathon. This seems to be also the Greek translation of a Phœnician pair like Âdâm and Qaîn, or quite as likely, if we represent Prometheus as a workman and Aitnaios as the first hierophant of the mysteries upon which their traditions rest, like Qaîn and Ḥanôk; for the name which in the Bible is borne by the son of the fratricide, in honor of whom the first city is called, signifies "the initiator;" and in him is personified initiation in all those material arts necessarily associated with an urban and stationary life, surrounded by the civilization necessary to its existence.

Now, when the Greeks adopted the twelve Chaldaic signs of the Zodiac, and endeavored to assimilate them with their mythology, some among them saw the Cabiri in the constellation Gemini;(1) the greater number looked upon it as the Dioscuri,(2) whose likeness to the Cabiri we have but just established, and

(1) Orph., Hymn xxxviii.; Nigid. *ap* Schol. *ad* German., *Arat.*, v. 147; Ampel., 3; comp. Sext. Empiric., p. 558.—Others distinguish the two stars of the Dioscuri from the three orbs of the Cabiri: Polem. *ap* Schol. Florent. *ad* Eurip., *Orest.*, v. 163, corrected by Madvig, *Emendat. in Cic. De leg. et Acad.*, p. 137.

(2) Polem. *ap* Schol. *ad* Eurip., *Orest.*, verse 1632; Ovid, *Fast.*, V., v. 693–720; Serv. *ad* Virgil, *Æneid*, VI., v. 121; Hygin., *Poet. Astron.*, II., 22; Nigid. *ap* Schol. *ad* German., *Arat.*, v. 147.—As Preller justly remarks (*Griechische Mythologie*, 2d Ed., vol. II., p. 106), the assimilation of the Dioscuri to the twins of the Zodiac was a late thing, like the adoption of the Zodiac itself. We do not quote it, therefore, in order to try and establish an original relation for the fable of the Tyndaridæ and the tradition associated by the Babylonians with the sign for the third month of the year, but solely because the assimilation could not have been made had it not been for a certain exterior resemblance between this tradition and their mythologic history.

who, before this identification, in their most ancient conception, are not hostile brothers,—they present, on the contrary, a type of close affection,—but brothers forever divided in their celestial life, condemned to spend their time alternately, the one under the earth among the dead, the other in heaven among the stars.(1) Others finally thought that they recognized in the zodiacal twins, Amphion and Zethos,(2) whom Preller(3) has so aptly called the Dioscuri of Bœotia, the heroic builders of the walls of Thebes,(4) for they are neither enemies nor separated like the Tyndaridæ, their fabulous history resembling, in another way, that which we believe to have existed among the Chaldeans and Babylonians in regard to the two personages placed in this celestial abode.(5) On the obverse of the coins of the Greek city of Istros in Mœsia, an ingenious method of symbolizing the alternate existence of the Dioscuri in the heaven was adopted: their two heads, the face toward you, are placed side by side, but one inverted as regards the other, so that when one appears to the spectator in his normal position, the

(1) *Odyss.*, Λ, v. 298–303; Pindar, *Nem.*, X., v. 55 et seq.; Apollodor., III., 11, 2; Hygin., *Fab.* 251.

(2) Schol. *ad* Germanic., *Arat.*, v. 147.

(3) *Griechische Mythologie*, 2d Ed., vol. II., p. 31.

(4) Apollon. Rhod., *Argonaut.*, I., v. 740 and 735, and Schol. *a. h. l.;* Syncell., p. 125; Horat., *Ad Pison.*, v. 394.

(5) The mythic cycle of Thebes presented, in two distinct stories, connected with different names, the two ideas, most commonly united in one, of the brother-builders of one city, Amphion and Zethos, and the inimical brothers, Eteocles and Polynices.

other is upside down, standing on his head.(1) Chaldeo-Babylonian art had adopted the same combination to symbolize the opposition of the twins of the Zodiac. Their ordinary representation, upon cylinders of pietra dura, which were used as seals, consisted of two little virile figures placed one above the other, inverted, the feet of one touching those of the other.(2)

It remains to us now to establish a last fact, which appears to possess an importance of its own in this connection. The third month of the Chaldeo-Assyrian year is dedicated to "Shin, eldest son of Bel,"(3) the lunar god, and not far back we saw(4) that in the cuneiform inscription called that "of the Barrel-Cylinder of Sargon," it is he who is called "the royal twin." In fact, this god has a brother, originally of an unmixed solar nature,(5) who presides over the following month, that of Dûz;(6) this is Adar, the Hercules of the Babylonians and Assyrians. The two divine brothers, sons of Bel, appear as antagonists in a curious narrative unearthed by Ctesias(7)

(1) Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, vol. II., p. 14; Millin, *Galerie Mythologique*, pl. cxlix., No. 524.

(2) Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, Nos. 65, 75 and 95; Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xxvi., Nos. 1 and 3; xxvii., No. 5; liv. a, No. 6.

(3) *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 33, l. 38, *a*.

(4) P. 147, note 1.

(5) Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire des Fragments de Bérose*, p. 113 et seq.; *Les dieux de Babylone et de l'Assyrie*, p. 23 et seq.

(6) *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 33, l. 39, *a*.

(7) *Athen.*, XII., p. 530.

and Nicolas of Damascus,(1) in which they receive the two names of Nannaros(2) and Parsondas.(3) Nannaros by stratagem succeeds in capturing his rival, proud of his herculean strength,(4) who, being held captive, gradually sinks to the last degree of effeminacy and to the loss of his manhood. This singular effeminacy, which other narrations likewise attribute

(1) Nicol. Damasc., fragm. 10, ed. C. Müller, *Fragm. historic. Graec.*, vol. III., pp. 359–363.

(2) Nannar, "the illuminator," from the root *nâhar*, is one of the most common terms for *Shin.*

(3) The original form of this name has not yet been reconstructed with perfect certainty; it seems, however, evident that it includes, as the second element in its composition, the appellation of Sandon, which the Greeks give us as one of the names of the Assyrian Hercules (Beros., *ap* Agath., *De reb. Justinian.*, II., p. 62, ed. of Paris; Ammian. Marcell., XIV., 8, compared with Dion Chrysostom, Orat. xxxiii., vol. II., pp. 1 and 23, ed. Reiske; see Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire des Fragments de Bérose*, p. 145 et seq.). But of what Assyrian form is Sandon the Hellenic transcription? So far it is not known. The epithet of *çandannu* or *çindannu*, applied to Adar, which Oppert thought akin to it, rests upon an erroneous reading; it should in reality be transcribed *dandannu*, "the very strong, the very powerful," a form in Palpel, derived from the root *dânan*, "to be strong, powerful."

(4) In fact, Adar, when he appears at the height of his power and strength, is "the Sun of the South, the Sun of Noon" (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. I., pl. 70, col. 4, l. 5, compared with vol. III., pl. 43, col. 4, l. 15; vol. II., pl. 57, l. 51, *c–d*). In the special cult of the famous city of Simpar or Sipar, the Sepharvaim of the Bible, the Sippara of classic geographers, Adar-Malik (Adrammelek in the Biblical transcription, 2 Kings xvii. 31), meaning "Adar King," like the Moloch of Phœnicia and Palestine, is identified with Shamash, or at least represents one of his aspects, the implacable Summer Sun, who at the hour of noon, when the intensity of his flame reaches its culminating point, devours the productions of the earth, and can be appeased only by human victims.

to Adar,(1) and which became the origin of the fable introduced into Greece from Asia Minor, of Hercules spinning at the feet of Omphale,(2) is simply an euphemistic variation of the periodic death which he passes through, like all the solar deities of Asia,(3) in the evening,(4) and in the winter, when he is burned up after the manner of the Greek Hercules upon the sunset pyre.(5) For the sun, after having been all-

(1) Fr. Lenormant, *La Légende de Sémiramis*, p. 51 et seq.; Gelzer, in the *Zeitschr. für Ægypt. Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, 1875, p. 129.

(2) Ottfried Müller, *Kleine Deutsche Schriften*, vol. II., p. 101; Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, vol. I., pp. 469–477; R. Rochette, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.*, new series, vol. XVII., 2d Part, p. 232 et seq.; Maury, *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce*, vol. III., p. 152 et seq.; Fr. Lenormant, *La Légende de Sémiramis*, p. 57 et seq.

(3) It is this periodic and voluntary death of Adar, as solar god, which, as I think, inspired the fragment of a bilingual hymn published in *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 30, 2, rev.; see Fr. Lenormant, *Les dieux de Babylone et de l'Assyrie*, p. 24.

(4) In *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 53, 2, l. 32 and 33, the solar spouse of the planet Venus is Shamash in the morning and Adar in the evening; see Gelzer, in *Zeitschr. für Ægypt. Spr. und Alterthumskunde*, 1875, p. 129 et seq.; Fr. Lenormant, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1876, p. 59.

(5) Upon the pyre of the Chaldeo-Assyrian Hercules, identical with the pyre of Sardanapalus in the legend transformed into pretended history, see the dissertation of Ottfried Müller, *Sandon und Sardanapal* (in his *Kleine Deutsche Schriften*, vol. II., pp. 100-113), and the *Mémoire* of Rochette, *sur l'Hercule assyrien et phénicien, considéré dans ses rapports avec l'Hercule grec, principalement à l'aide des monuments figurés*, in the second part of volume XVII. of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, new series.

The sacred pyramid of the palace of Nineveh, represented by some writers as the tomb of Ninus (Diod. Sic., II., 7; Ovid, *Metamorphos.*, IV., v. 88), by others as that of Sardanapalus, was in

powerful at noon, during his diurnal revolution, and during the summer solstice in his annual revolution, invariably succumbs to the fatal attacks of night and winter; deprived of the strength which later he will recover, he is represented as no longer possessing any manhood, or else as being dead, but about to revive shortly; these are the two forms of the same fundamental idea. Adar-Parsondas falls each evening into the power of his brother-rival, Shin-Nannaros, who deprives him of his strength and makes him half a woman; thus the two brothers succeed each other in the dominion over nature and in the favor of the supreme master of heaven. They alternate like the Dioscuri; and as night is identified with death, the evening victor, regarded as the elder by the Chaldeo-Babylonians, slays his younger brother, whom he sends to the abode of the dead.

Some individuals will doubtless be induced to draw from these last observations an argument in favor of Goldhizer's theory,(1) which sees in the history of Qaîn and Hâbel a myth of the struggle between day and night, on condition, however, of reversing the characteristics which he assigns to each of these personages. But this conclusion is far from being a necessary consequence, and here the logical chain of facts seems to me to run as follows:

truth a divine tomb of Adar, of whom these two personages are heroic forms (Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire des Fragm. de Bérose*, p. 365; *La Légende de Sémiramis*, pp. 41 and 52; *Les dieux de Babylone et de l'Assyrie*, p. 25.

(1) *Der Mythos bei den Hebræern*, pp. 130–133. [Eng. Trans., London, 1877, pp. 110-114. Tr.]

1st. Existence of the ancient tradition of the fratricide.

2d. This tradition, according to a calendar system which we will study in our sixth chapter, is associated with the third month of the year.

3d. In attributing a protecting deity to each month, the preference is given for this month to the deity whose mythical history approached nearest to the tradition to be connected henceforth with the month and its zodiacal sign.

In regard to the other myths which I have passed in review in the preceding pages, I will recur to them at such length as to establish a certain parallelism between them and the Bible narrative.

It should be remarked how well some of these myths, in the character which they attribute to the fratricide, agree with the interpretation of the Church which sees in Hâbel the most ancient figure of Christ, at the very outset of man's history. For all these myths that include the conception of a young god, appearing as saviour and mediator, allying himself with man, and consummating his work of salvation by passing through suffering and death, appeal in a special manner to the mind of the religious thinker. Doubtless they refer to the vicissitudes of the life of nature, which they express symbolically, but one cannot but acknowledge that they also include something more, the reflection of a spiritual verity, in part obscured by an impure alloy, a feeble reflex of the divine promises of redemption made to man immediately after the Fall. The Christian could not afford to despise a single one of these intuitions, which are

vague and incomplete, but none the less providential for that reason, and which shine out here and there amid the darkness of paganism. It is always this expectation of a Saviour and a Redeemer, this aspiration toward a higher spiritual law, toward the reign of a juster and more merciful God, which was never completely extinguished in the souls of the nations crushed beneath the weight of bloody, material and fatalistic religions.

I have been obliged to follow a long chain of developments, in order to deduce therefrom all the reasons which have led me to the conviction that the Chaldeo-Babylonian tradition must include, among its narratives of the early days of humanity, a story of the first murder and of the first foundation of a city analogous to that of Genesis.(1) If this hypothesis be correct, if the arguments which I have adduced in its favor seem to suffice for bringing about its acceptance, we shall have a new fact added to the demonstration of the exact and continuous parallelism, one might almost say the identity, of the two traditions, Biblical and Chaldaic. But among the Chaldeans, a stationary and civilized people from the remotest antiquity, inhabitants of great towns, the narration could not bear the peculiar stamp which is evident in the fourth chapter of *Genesis*, where the impress of the nomadic and pastoral spirit is so strongly marked, the wicked brother, ill-pleasing in God's sight, being a tiller of the ground, and the righteous brother, well-beloved of heaven, a shep-

(1) *Les premières civilisations*, vol. II., p. 80 et seq.

herd.(1) The extended comparison, which a sufficient array of facts will enable us to establish a little farther on (chapter vii.) between the Chaldaic and the Biblical account of the Deluge, will put it in our power to prove the same sort of difference in tone there, too, while we shall observe how much more natural and human are the characteristics of the Bible personages, in consequence of the sweeping away of that exuberant polytheism which stamps the Chaldeo-Babylonian legend. There is no manner of doubt that if we had an original version of the Chaldaic account of the story of the fratricide, to place side by side with that of Genesis, it would furnish material for similar observations. We have ample grounds for believing that such a story would not bear upon its face the same morally instructive character as that in the Bible, but would appear as the result of a blind fatalism, a necessity analogous to that of the laws of nature, leaving no room for a severe condemnation of the murderer. Indeed, it is not impossible that the wrongdoing in the case may have been imputed to the

(1) After the same idea and in the same spirit, we find that, in verses 20 and 22 of the same chapter (iv.), the whole account belonging to the Jehovist document, of the sons of Lemek the Qaînite, Yâbâl, the father of the pastoral races, is born of the wife called 'Âdâh, "beauty," and Tûbal, the smith, of the one named Çillâh, "shadow, dimness." See what is said in our fifth chapter in regard to the antagonism between these women.

In regard to the constant preference of the oldest Bible narratives for the shepherd as against the tiller of the soil, see the acute remarks of Goldhizer (*Der Mythos bei den Hebræern*, pp. 95-104 [Eng. Trans., London, 1877, pp. 79-89. Tr.]).

victim. We have some reason to suppose that the Chaldeans justified the murderer, as did the Romans in the case of Romulus against Remus. If, as we have conjectured, they compared the quarrel of the two sons of the first man with the struggle between Shin and Adar, there is no doubt about it, for the Chaldeans, differing in this from other ancient peoples, gave the moon the precedence over the sun, so that, of the deities representing the two cosmic luminaries, Shin held the place of preference; he it was whom they regarded as their very special benefactor and protector, making him the founder and supreme type of royal power.

In the Bible, on the other hand, and as far back as the ancient Jehovist document, made use of by the final redactor of Genesis, the murder of Hâbel is the first crime, following, in the second generation, the first sin, and flowing from this source of wrong-doing, as a logical consequence, though not an unavoidable one, for Yahveh warns Qaîn, when his evil disposition is first aroused, of the ambush prepared for him by sin,(1) so emphatically that it is in the full exercise of his moral liberty that he allows himself to be drawn into the commission of crime, just as Âdâm let himself be led into sin. Besides all this, when relating, a little before, the different reception given by God to the offerings of Qaîn and Hâbel,(2) the author evidently did not intend to attribute a capricious preference, unworthy of His power, to the Eternal One, nor to represent Qaîn as fatalistically

(1) Genesis iv. 6 and 7. (2) Genesis iv. 4 and 5.

predestined to commit this crime and rebuked beforehand.(1) It is the difference in the nature of the offerings which determines the difference in their acceptableness. The inspired author makes a practical application of a liturgic instruction, which agrees with the legal commands of the Thôrâh, the principles of which he carries back to the very origin of man. The sacrifice of Hâbel is the first model of the bloody sacrifice; and therefore it is especially pleasing to Yahveh. Thus the necessity for this kind of sacrifice, imposed by sin as a form of ransom, is proclaimed, and we find it prescribed to man even at the very epoch when he was not yet permitted by God to slay animals, that he might use their flesh for food. I will not examine into the possible antiquity of this conception in this place; this could not be done short of making a complete study of the development of religious thought in Israël; but it is undoubtedly the meaning intended to be conveyed by the author of the Jehovist document.(2)

I will not conclude this chapter without referring to a philological detail, which seems to me to indicate that the story was brought from Chaldea in a definite

(1) As regards the interpretation of St. John Chrysostom (*Homil. in Genes.*, XVIII., 5), that Hâbel chose of the best of his flocks, while Qaîn offered whatever came to his hand, without choice, nothing in the expressions of the text either suggests or justifies it.

(2) Conformably to the spirit of the new law, which substitutes the merit of faith for the ancient legal observances, the Epistle to the Hebrews says (xi. 4): "By faith it was that Abel offered a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, and that he was declared righteous, God Himself testifying of his gifts; and because of it he speaks yet after he is dead."

shape, a traditional redaction which the author of the Jehovist document has preserved at least in part.

Yahveh said to Qaîn, on seeing the rankling jealousy which had sprung up in his heart against his brother Hâbel: "When thou hast not done well, sin places itself in ambush at thy door, and its appetite is turned toward thee."(1) The participle *robêç*, here employed as a substantive, constitutes the only known Hebrew example of the verb *râbaç* taken in that sense which in Arabic is invariably given to *rebaça*, and sometimes to *rebadha*, whence the lion is described as *rabbâdh*, "that which holds itself in ambush," and *morâbedh* is a "soldier of the great guard." In Assyrian, on the other hand, *rabaç* has the two current acceptations—the one as frequent as the other—of "lying down, resting," or of "lying in ambush, spying." Furthermore, the Assyrian-Semitic name used to designate one of the principal classes of demons is *rabiç*, "he who holds himself in ambush, spreader of snares," corresponding to the Akkadian *mashkim*.(2) The seven Rabiçi are numbered among the most redoubtable of the malevolent and infernal spirits.(3) We find them again in the Râbidhaton of Musselman demonology, where they are represented as fallen angels, who were cast out together with Âdâm. The demons, moreover, according to the Chaldaic conception, do not limit themselves, as here repre-

(1) Genesis iv. 7.

(2) Fr. Lenormant, *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, p. 24 et seq.; 30 et seq.

(3) The great magic incantation of *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 15, translated by Sayce in the *Records of the Past*, vol. IX., p. 141 et seq., is directed against them.

sented, to lying in wait for man at the door of his dwelling, attacking him to his face, or following behind him in order to throw themselves upon him when he is not on his guard: (1)

"They, the door does not keep them back, the bar of the door does not repel them; within the door they insinuate themselves like snakes."(2)

Here is a conjuration, intended to keep them away from the king:

"Into the palace they shall never enter; to the gate of the palace they shall never approach; the king they shall never attack."(3)

The moral thought of *Genesis* iv. 7 may be justly compared with Psalm xxxvii. 8:

"Cease from anger, and forsake wrath; fret not thyself in anywise to do evil."

The analogy of its imagery has been made use of in the following verse of the first Epistle of St. Peter: (4)

"Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary,

(1) "They shall never attack me in hostility to my face;—they shall never walk in my steps" (*panya ai yulammenuni—ana arkiya ai illikuni*), are the words of a deprecatory incantation (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 1, col. 3, l. 51–54).

(2) *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 1, col. 1, l. 29–33: *šunu daltav ul ikallušunuti — medilu ul yutaršunuti—ina dalti kima çiri ittalalu.* I quote here only the Assyrian version, which is easily understood by a greater number of philologists than the primitive Accadian text. See, for details, the analysis of both texts in my *Études Accadiennes*, vol. III., p. 79.

(3) *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 5, col. 3, l. 70–75: *ana ekalli ai irubûni — ana bab ekalli ai idḫûni — ana šarri ai idḫûni.*

(4) 1 Pet. v., 8.

the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour."

This last comparison must have been a common one in the poetic language of the Jews and the neighboring nations. We find it far back in the oldest lyric poetry of Chaldea.

"Thou art an hyena,(1) which puts itself in motion to carry off the little cattle; thou art a lion which prowls round about,"(2) says an ancient Accadian hymn, addressed to the goddess of the planet Venus, which has come down to us accompanied by an interlinear translation in Assyrian.(3)

Last observation. In the thirteenth verse of the fourth chapter of Genesis, Qaîn, stricken with the divine curse after his fratricide, says to Yahveh: "My crime is too great for me to carry the burden of it;" and he implores some lessening of his condemnation. Some modern interpreters translate: "My punishment is too great," taking *'avôn* here in a sense which is not usual. This does not seem to me justifiable. The idea of the sin, the burden of which weighs down and crushes him who has committed it, with the weight of moral remorse and of the material punishment to which it exposes him even in this

(1) The Accadian has *lik-barra*, the Asssyrian *barbaru*, two expressions given as synonyms of *aḫû*, the *ôaḫ* of the Bible (Isa. xiii. 21), which is the hyena. (See W. Houghton in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. V., p. 328.)

(2) *barbaru ša ana liqê puḫadi šuluku atti—nêšu ša ina qirbiti ittanallaku atti.*

(3) Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2d Ed., p. 73, l. 11–14.

life, is frequently expressed in the Bible. It will suffice to recall this verse of a Psalm:

"For mine iniquities are gone over my head: as a heavy burden they are too heavy for me."(1)

(1) Psalm xxxviii. 5. [Heb.] All the first part of Psalm xxxviii. is remarkable for the fact that it hardly contains an expression that we do not find in these Chaldaic penitential psalms, the fragments of which have come down to us. The following comparisons speak for themselves:

A. Psalm xxxviii. 2:

"Yahveh! punish me not in Thy anger, and chastise me not in Thy fury."

Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia, vol. IV., pl. 10, obv. l. 1–2: "Of the lord, who appeases the violent anger of his heart!"

(*ša beliv nuqqum libbišu ana ašrišu litura.*)

Ibid. l. 48–51:

"The lord in the anger of his heart has reddened (with fury) against me:

the god, in the fury of his heart, has weighed me down."

(*beluv ina uqqum libbišu ikkilmananni — iliv ina uzzi libbišu yušamhiranni.*)

B. Psalm xxxviii. 4:

"There is no soundness in my flesh by reason of thine anger, there is no more vigor in my bones by reason of my sin."

Ibid. 6:

"My wounds are infected and corrupt on account of my folly."

Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia, vol. IV., pl. 3, col. 1, l. 5–10:

"He who does not honor his god is broken like a reed; his ulcer oppresses him like a clog. He who has not his goddess for a guardian, his flesh is bruised."

(*la palih ilašu kima qane ihtaççi va—buanišu kima gihini yušallit —ša ištar paqida la išû šîrišu yušahhah.*)

C. Psalm xxxviii. 7:

"I am bent, bowed down to the last degree; I go mourning all the day long."

Ibid. 9:

"I am feeble and sore broken, the trouble of my heart drags groans from me."

The same idea and the same image exist in the religious poetry of Chaldea. The sin and the curse which it entails are therein represented as a burden, and like a dark pall which overpowers the man by its weight. "The voice which curses the covering like a pall and charges it with its weight."(1) And in the outpourings of repentance the deity is implored to lighten this burden and to tear away this pall.

"I have committed faults, who will take them away!

My blasphemies are many, tear them away like a veil."(2)

And elsewhere:

"That my omission, my bad act, my error may be absolved!

Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia, vol. IV., pl. 10, obv. l. 58–61, rev. l. 1–4:

"I am prostrated, and no one holds out a hand to me;
I weep and none seizes my hand.
I cry my prayer, and no one hears me;
I am emaciated, languishing, and I am not healed."

(*aštani'e va manman qati ul içabat—abki va qatateya ul idhû—qube aqabbi manman ul išimananni—uššušaku kitmaku ul anadal.*)

D. Psalm xxxviii. 22 and 23:

"Forsake me not, O Yahveh! My God, be not far from me!
Come in haste to my help, Lord, my salvation!"

Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia, vol. IV., pl. 10, rev. l. 35–38:

"Lord, thou wilt not reject thy servant.
From the midst of the waters of the tempest, come to his succor! take his hand!"

(*beluv ardaka la tasakib—ina me rušumti nadi qassu çabat.*)

(1) *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 7, col. 1, l. 14 and 15: *qulu kûru kima çubati iktumšu va itanašaššu.*

(2) *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 10, rev. l. 41–44: *anna ebuš šâru litbal.—qillatûa ma'dâti kima çubati šuhut.*

That my sin may be absolved! and that which weighs me down be lifted!

That the seven winds may carry away my groans!

That I could tear away my error! that the bird might carry it to the sky!

That the fish-line might carry it away! that the river might bear it off!" [1]

[1] *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 66, 2, obv. l. 11–15 [Col. 1, l. 45–49. Tr.] (this document is written only in Semitic-Assyrian): — *lippaṭru arnûa limmanya nistatûa.* — *'anti lippaṭir kasiti lirmu.—taniḫiya litbalu sibit šâri.—lušḫuṭ arni. iççuru ina šame lišeli.* — *iṭirti nuni litbal libil na'ṭu.*

CHAPTER V.

THE SHETHITES AND THE QAINITES.

The Book of *Genesis*, in its completed state, as it has come down to us, contains, in succession, two genealogies of the descendants of the first human pair, as far as the deluge; first giving that of the Qaînites in chapter iv., then that of the children of Shêth in chapter v. Thus we are enabled to trace the parallel filiation of the accursed race and the blessed race, until we come to that righteous man, who, finding grace in the sight of the Eternal, in the midst of the universal corruption of men, is saved from the cataclysm, and becomes the father of a new human family.

The character of the two genealogies is very different; there is an absolutely distinct coloring in each, and they come down to us from quite different sources. The last compiler adopted them from two older books, both already regarded as sacred, which he made use of, undertaking to establish a concordance between them. The genealogy of the Shêthites in chapter v. belongs wholly to the Elohist document, with the single exception of one verse (the 29th), which, at first glance, shows itself to be distinct from the rest by a different tone and mode of redaction.

The genealogy the Qaînitseo in the fourth chapter belongs, in the nature of a continuation, to the story of the fratricide and of the curse of Qaîn, and is derived, like that, from the Jehovist document. It is followed, moreover, by two verses bearing most markedly the characteristics of the redaction of this document, verses which give for two generations the early portion of the list of Âdâm's descendants through Shêth,(1) speedily cut short by the insertion of the "Thôledôth of Âdâm,"(2) which begins over again with the first man. It seems quite evident, therefore, that the Jehovist book contained the double table of the descendants of both Qaîn and Shêth, but that the final editor suppressed the greater part of the second genealogy, as being a repetition of that in the Elohist document, which he preferred. He preserved only the beginning, that it might serve as connecting link between the two genealogies, drawn from different sources, and verse 29 of the fifth chapter, which he inserted in his extract from the Elohist book in order to explain the name of Nôaḥ. Such is the opinion of Hupfeld,(3) in which Kayser coincides;(4) it appears to me to be the only admissible one, and I do not hesitate to give it the preference over the first theory set forth on this subject by rationalistic criticism, a theory which Schrader has

(1) IV. 25 and 26.

(2) V. 1.

(3) *Die Quellen der Genesis und die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung*, p. 129 et seq.

(4) *Das vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte Israëls und seine Erweiterungen*, p. 7.

lately undertaken to defend,(1) and according to which the Jehovist document must originally have made Nôaḥ a descendant of Qaîn and son of the Lemek of this line.(2) Such a theory seems to me too utterly opposed to the fundamental spirit of the Jehovist document, and to all the ideas of the Israelites, to be admissible. A little farther on, we shall see, in the history of the sons of Nôaḥ,(3) how much stress the Jehovist writer lays on tracing back the providential condemnation which rests upon certain nations, and of which Israel is the agent, to a curse which was pronounced against their first ancestor. He shows them to be subjected, if one may so express it, to the consequences of a special and secondary sin. Therefore he never could have been the one to trace back the descent of the righteous man, chosen of God, to the family of the Accursed, the prototype of wickedness; he necessarily must belong to a pure race, standing in the same relation to that of Qaîn as Yisrael to the nations of Edôm, 'Ammôn, Môâb, who, though his brother-peoples, were not pleasing to Yahveh. Moreover, it is only necessary to study attentively the words of chap. v. 29, and the allusion contained therein to iii. 17–19, to feel quite confident that the author regards Nôaḥ merely as sharing the consequences of Âdâm's transgression, for which he was called to "console" humanity, and

(1) *Studien zur Kritik und Erklærung der biblischen Urgeschichte*, pp. 122–124 and 134.

(2) According to this theory, verses 25 and 26 of chapter iv. would constitute an addition by the final redactor.

(3) IX. 22–25.

that he was by no means reckoned among the race weighed down by the additional load of the malediction of Qaîn.

This theory, however, rests partly upon an undeniable fact, which we cannot ignore in our examination of the matter, and that is the singular and striking similarity existing between the Qaînite and Shêthite genealogies, which are very nearly, to a certain extent, the reproductions one of the other. It is true that in one case there are but seven names, while in the other there are ten; but, as has been long since recognized, being indeed a self-evident fact, the name of Enôsh, given as the son of Shêth, is in Hebrew the exact synonym of Âdâm, both alike signifying "the man" *par excellence*. Now, taking this Enôsh for our point of departure, we find for six generations the same consecutive names, with but very slight variations of form and a misplacing of two of them; on the one hand, in the descent from Âdâm through Qaîn; on the other, in the descent from Shêth through Enôsh. Thus we have

ON THE ONE SIDE:	ON THE OTHER:
Âdâm,	Enôsh,
Qaîn,	Qênân,
Ḥanôk,	Mahalal'êl,
'Irâd,	Yered,
Meḥûiâêl,	Ḥanôk,
Methushâêl,	Methûshelah,
Lemek,	Lemek,
	Nôah,
Yâbâl, Yûbâl, Tûbal,	Shêm, Hâm, Yâpheth.

The genealogy of the Qaînites concludes with three heads of races, sons of Lemek; that of the Enôshites with three heads of races, grandsons of Lemek. In the last instance simply one generation more is introduced, that of Nôah, between Lemek and the division of the family into three branches.

Quite a number of exegetes have come to the conclusion, from the fact of this remarkable parallelism, that the two genealogies originally made but one, and that they should be regarded as two versions of the same tradition. This conclusion is to my mind exaggerated and inadmissible. On the whole, there is an assonance between the two sets of names, but no identity. On the contrary, the very names which resemble each other and are correspondants, absolutely change their signification according to the list to which they belong; they have an evil signification among the descendants of Qaîn, and a favorable one among those of Shêth. For instance, Meḥûiâêl, "stricken by God," corresponds with Mahalal'êl, "praise or glory of God;" 'Irâd, "fugitive," is the correspondant of Yered, "descent," or rather, "service." In other cases the meaning of the name remains the same, but its change of place gives this meaning a different application in the different tables of filiation. Ḥanôk signifies "initiator," but the son of Qaîn, whose name is connected with the founding of the first town, personifies the commencement of material and secular arts, while Ḥanôk, of the line of Shêth, who walked three hundred and sixty-five years with Yahveh, God taking him while yet alive to Himself, indicates the beginning of religious truth

and the spiritual life. The truth, then, seems to be, that both genealogies were constructed artificially and contemporaneously, in order to establish an exact and constant parallelism between the two lines of descent from the criminal and accursed son and from the just and blessed son, by marking the contrast between malediction and election in the signification of the names of either line, which resemble each other so closely in sound.(1)

I just now remarked that there is a vast difference, in coloring, character and form, between the two genealogies which follow each other in Genesis, but which in reality spring from different sources. Nothing can be drier or more monotonous in form than that of the Shêthites, adapted in chapter v. from the Elohist document; and nothing could more intensely bear the impression of that peculiar kind of Euhemerism, characteristic of the Bible, and inspired by its rigorous monotheism, which reduces the heroes of popular tradition to strictly human proportions, despoiling them as far as possible of their allegorical character, though accepting and enrolling them in the record of the oldest memories transmitted to the people of Israel from their ancestors. It is all reduced to an unvarying dead level, cleared pitilessly of every trace

(1) It is hardly necessary to insist upon the point, that these names on either list have not and could not have any real historic value. They are Hebrew, and it is certain that Hebrew was not spoken before the Flood. They then must be significant appellations, intentionally combined in such a way that each one, according to its meaning, is made to express an idea that it was desired to fix, to a greater or less degree, upon one or the other genealogy.

of the mythic fancy which had heretofore enfolded these personages, conceived in accordance with the symbolic genius of remote antiquity. Their succession becomes a purely human genealogy, wherein the duration of each life is minutely recorded, as well as the age when the first son was born. These enormous figures, quite inconsistent with the physiological conditions of the terrestrial life of man, alone make these tables different from the familiar and regular records of the best attested genealogies.

On the other hand, in the table of the descent of Qaîn, borrowed from the Jehovist document, and in the few verses retained from this table relating to the descent of Shêth, these laboriously exact figures have not yet been introduced. Here the personages preserve a decidedly legendary physiognomy, not having been let down to the same dead level as in the Elohist document. Evidently the editor was not to the same extent concerned in giving them a strictly human character. As he had already done in the case of Qaîn, he lays great stress upon the allegorical signification of the appellations, and when we come to the name of Lemek, he introduces us to a cycle of heroic legends clustered about him; I had almost said myths, notwithstanding the sober reserve with which this term should be employed in Biblical narratives; for even when undertaking the work of criticism, pure and simple, and using the same liberty in examining the Bible as any other ancient book, nothing is more at variance with the mythos, as seen among polytheistic nations, than the spirit of this Book. Properly speaking, these are legends, not

myths, sometimes borrowed from popular tradition by the writers of the sacred books of Israel, especially the book of Genesis; and even when one has good reason to suppose that one of these legends may have had its origin in what was at first a genuine myth, it should be acknowledged that it was carefully stripped of all that gave it this character before being admitted into the Bible.

We have a striking example of this in the legends which the Jehovist writer has grouped about the name of the Qaînite Lemek. The antagonism established between the two wives of that heroic personage, with their two names, so evidently significant, of 'Âdâh, "beauty," and Çillâh, "shadow, dimness," constitutes one of the rare instances when the mythic system of Goldziher(1) seems to be grounded upon solid and incontestable foundations. It seems to me impossible, in truth, to doubt the fact that the two women thus named could not have received these appellations, had not the popular imagination, long before the first establishment of monotheistic dogma in the family of Terah, conceived of them in the first place as two personifications of light and darkness, of day and night, fixed beside the "Strong Young Man," or the "Wild Man, the Devastator," for there is some doubt in choosing between these two interpretations of the name of Lemek, who in either case appears to us as an armed and warlike hero. But it should be carefully noted that though the Elohist editor, in all probability, accepted in this place two

(1) *Der Mythos bei den Hebræern*, p. 151. [Eng. Trans., 1877, p. 130. Tr.]

names associated with an ancient myth, and expressing its fundamental idea, he took nothing further from it. Only their names suggest that 'Âdâh and Çillâh must at first have possessed a mythical significance. But, save for these appellations, they exhibit absolutely no signs of such a character in the Sacred Book, where they appear simply and only as the two human wives of Lemek, an individual quite as human as they. The compiler even avoids giving any detail in regard to these two women, such as he records of their children, for fear of their again falling into the mythical position whence he had rescued them. The only thing he says in which they are concerned, and all that it comes within his scope to say, is that Lemek had two wives, while his ancestors had never had but one apiece, and monogamy was also the invariable practice of the blessed race represented by the family of Shêth. In order to give a more exact and individual character to these two women, in a story which had assumed the genealogical form, it was necessary to designate them by name. The inspired compiler naturally preferred adopting those supplied already by ancient national tradition to composing new ones. Therefore he inscribed in his table the two names which had been those of the personifications of day and night, at the same time completely separating the two personages thus designated from their mythical attributes.

To the mind of the Jehovist writer, as well as to the final collator of Genesis, who adopted his text, 'Âdâh and Çillâh have nothing whatever to do with the day and the night; viewed beside their spouse,

Lemek, they furnish the first example of polygamy. The origin of this institution is thus carried back to the race of the accursed, and fixed on the eve of the Flood, when "all flesh had corrupted its way upon the earth." As Knobel has accurately stated,(1) a direct condemnation of polygamy is here intended, just as the words of verse 24, chap. ii., give a divine sanction to monogamy. The Jewish Law never directly forbade polygamy, which was supposed to be authorized by the example of the patriarchs,(2) and which the kings finally carried to such an excess that the prophets confined themselves to endeavoring to moderate it, without going to the length of condemning the principle.(3) This is one of the points where Mosaism shows itself weakest; in more than one place, the Thôrâh accepts the fact that a man may marry two wives as a perfectly legitimate one, and that even in parts of the same Jehovist redaction with Genesis ii. 24 and iv. 19,(4) as well as Deuteronomy.(5) But, notwithstanding this tolerance, it is certain that a plurality of wives never became an universal custom among the mass of Israelites, who always remained essentially monogamic,(6) and that

(1) *Die Genesis,* 2d Ed., p. 64 [cf. 3d Ed., by Dillmann, p. 113. Tr.].

(2) It is worthy of remark that the four wives of Ya'aqôb, that one among the patriarchs whose polygamy is most pronounced, give us the precise number of legitimate wives allowed by the Laws of Manu (ix. 145), and afterwards sanctioned by Moḥammed in the Qorân (iv. 3).

(3) This is also the case in Deuteron. xvii. 17.

(4) Exod. xxi. 10; Levit. xviii. 18.

(5) xxi. 15–17.

(6) See Munk, *Palestine,* p. 202.

this immoral institution aroused at all epochs conscientious scruples. Thus in Deuteronomy,(1) the majority of the regulations touching the relations of man and wife presuppose a single marriage, as a type of the moral and legal rule.

It is also very evidently the intention to condemn, in attributing to it the same accursed origin, the sanguinary custom of personal vengeance, which is the scourge of the primitive social condition, and, as Ewald has justly remarked,(2) is in direct opposition to the spirit of the Mosaic Law;—it is that he may stigmatize this usage with his condemnation that the Jehovist writer has inserted in his text the song of Lemek,(3) the sole vestige of the existence of popular poetry dating back to an extreme antiquity, which must have existed among the Teraḥites even prior to their migration toward Palestine.(4) It was from this song that the words of the curse of Qaîn were taken (verse 15, chap. iv.).(5)

(1) xx. 7; xxiv. 5; xxv. 5 and 11.

(2) *Geschichte des Volkes Israël,* 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 357. [N. 2. 3d. Ed., I., p. 382, N. 3. Eng. Trans., I., p. 267, N. 3. Tr.]

(3) Genesis iv. 23 and 24.

(4) A likeness may be perceived between this fragment and the remains of ancient popular Chaldæan songs, in the collection of the *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia,* vol. II., pl. 16. One of these latter says: "Oh, that I may accomplish my vengeance, and render back to whomsoever has given me!" (*luškun iqqimu—luttir va—mannu inandin.*) [l. 53–55, *b.* Tr.] Another says: "As solid as an old kiln (which has been hardened by fire), resist thine enemies" (*Kima tinuri—labiri—ana nukkurika mariç*). [l. 10–13, *d.* Tr.]

(5) Ewald, *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft,* vol. VI., p. 16; Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament,* p. 254 [1st Ed., 1860; 4th

Ewald[1] was perfectly right in characterizing it as the oldest fragment contained in the Bible, and I am willing to regard it as the very oldest literary legacy which has been handed down to us from any Semitic people whatsoever. It breathes so decided a tone of primitive ferocity that one would naturally put it in the mouth of a wild man, a savage of the stone age, dancing around the corpse of his victim, while brandishing his silex-wood bludgeon, or the jaw-bone of the cave-bear, from which he has learned to fashion for his use a terrible weapon.[2] Aben-Ezra, Calvin, Drusius, Herder, Rosenmüller, Delitzsch and Knobel understand it as a song of menace, instead of a song of triumph, translating thus: "I shall kill a man," etc. In spite of the authority of its upholders, this translation does not strike me as correct; with the Septuagint, St. Jerome, and the majority of modern interpreters, it seems evident to me that in this song Lemek relates past deeds, and that the true meaning is that which has been indicated by the illustrious De Sacy:[3] "I have slain a man because he wounded

Ed., by Wellhausen, 1878, p. 77; Eng. Trans., 1869, I., p. 283. Tr.]; Tuch, *Kommentar über die Genesis*, p. 120 [2d Ed., by Arnold and Merx, p. 94. Tr.]; Schrader, *Studien*, p. 128.

(1) *Geschichte des Volkes Israël*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 357. [N. 2. 3d Ed., I., p. 382, N. 3; Eng. Trans., I., p. 267, N. 3. Tr.]

(2) It is impossible for me to agree with Knobel when he fancies that he sees in this spirit of savage revenge a trait which specially characterizes the Chinese and the nations of Mongolian extraction (*Die Genesis*, 2d Ed., p. 66).

(3) *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, vol. L., p. 370.

me, and a child because he bruised me."(1) But the curious part of it is that some of the Fathers of the Church should have been able to find an expression of remorse or penitence in this little poem.(2) The song of Lemek has also given reins to the bizarre imagination of the Rabbins. St. Jerome(3) relates that in his day there existed a tradition among the Jews, accepted, too, by certain of the Christians, to the effect that Lemek had killed Qaîn by accident.(4) The celebrated Raschi gives a full account of this incident, with many other connecting circumstances.

(1) We will merely recall the way in which the Targumim have changed the text in translating: "I have not killed a man," and the interrogative rendering of the sentence in Saadiah's Arabic version: "Have I killed a man?"

(2) St. John Chrysostom sees in Lamek a penitent criminal, publicly confessing his misdeed for the relief of his conscience (*Homil. XX. in Genes.*), and the obtaining of pardon (*Homil. in Psalm. vi.*). St. Basil (*Epist. cclx.* 5) interprets his words as signifying the perpetration of two murders, and the consequent calling down upon him of a punishment far more terrible than Qaîn's, since he had sinned with more knowledge. He states the signification of the last verse to be, that as the guilt of Âdâm, after accumulating for seven generations, was to be followed by the Flood, so seventy-seven generations after his own time (comp. Luke iii. 23–38) He would appear Who should take away the sins of the world.

The explanation given by Lightfoot (*Decas. Chorogr. Marc. Praem.*, § iv.) should be relegated to the catalogue of curiosities, he supposing that Lemek expresses remorse for having by his example of polygamy brought upon the earth a greater destruction and injury than Qaîn.

(3) *Epist. xxvi. ad Damasum.*

(4) Luther admits this, adding, however, that Lemek slew Qaîn purposely. [In *Predigt. üb. I Buch Mosis,* on iv. 23. Differently in *Auslegung* of same. Tr.]

According to him, the occasion of the little poem was the refusal of Lemek's wives to enter into a partnership with him to bear the burden of his double murder, the victims of which had been persons of no less importance than his ancestor Qaîn and his son Tûbal-Qaîn. Lemek, he says, was blind, and could not go about unless conducted by his son, who on one occasion fancied that he saw a wild beast creeping about under cover; he directed his father's arrow that way, and the shot struck Qaîn, wounding him mortally. When he found what he had done, Lemek, in the agitation of his first passion, turned upon Tûbal-Qaîn and slew him. Thus it was that he struck a man and a child.(1)

Such fancies, with which the ancient Bible text is embellished, are not worth dwelling upon; they only serve to show to what extent the Jewish Rabbins, even the greatest of them, had lost the true meaning of portions of the most ancient of the Sacred Books. The true state of the case is that Lemek appears in the fourth chapter of Genesis as the prototype of savage revenge, as well as of polygamy. In his person, the race of Qaîn, begun in murder, comes to an end in murder more ferocious still. Condemnation of revenge and polygamy is the moral lesson of the text, and it is in this lesson that the Christian, who certainly could not acknowledge the savage song

(1) It is strange that Goldziher did not call this legend to his aid when trying to prove, without any such indication in the text, that it was his own son whom Lemek, as a personification of the Sun, must have slain (*Der Mythos bei den Hebræern*, p. 150 [Eng. Trans., 1877, p. 129. Tr.]).

of Lemek[1] as words of revelation, recognizes the inspiration which guided the sacred writer when he introduced into his book this old heroic and partly mythical tradition. Some of the modern exegetes, as Hess, Herder, Rosenmüller, Ewald, Delitzsch, Knobel, seem to have reason on their side in endeavoring to trace a connection between the song of Lemek and the manufacture of metallic weapons, attributed to his son Tûbal. In the terrible menace contained in the last verse of this song we have the expression of haughty confidence, which the possession of these new instruments of warfare gives to the Qaînite. Qaîn had been put out of the reach of the peril to which his murder exposed him by the extension to him of a divine protection; Lemek is sufficient unto himself to defend and shield himself, armed as he is. The man who might have undertaken to raise his hand against Qaîn would only have been exposed to a sevenfold vengeance; Lemek, thanks to the instruments of death which he wields, will be enabled to revenge himself seventy and seven times, for his power is now increased more than tenfold.

It is time now to speak of the three sons of Lemek, who, in the Qaînite genealogy, correspond to the three sons of Nôaḥ in that of the Shêthites, for they are also chiefs, fathers of races, as distinctly stated in the

(1) It is evident that if some Fathers of the Church have tortured the text that they might discover therein a Lemek repentant for his murders, it was that they might explain away the idea that so atrocious a proclamation of the principle of personal revenge should have been revealed and inspired from on high.

text. They are at the same time inventors of the useful arts of life. It is to the race of Qaîn that the Bible ascribes the invention of arts and industries. "The sons of the world are wiser than the children of light,"(1) is a dominating idea of the whole Bible, and recurs in the Gospel. Material civilization already advanced, the refinements of life, the wealth of inventive creation in all its branches, but associated with impiety, luxury and cruelty, the melancholy heritage of the crime of their first ancestor, such are the characteristics which the Sacred Book attributes to the descendants of Qaîn, as contrasted with the pure and simple life of the sons of Shêth, in whose history no facts are noted, save that at such a time "they began to invoke by the name of Yahveh"(2) (Jehovist source), and the piety of Ḥanôk, who "walked with God," and at the end of 365 years "was not, for Elohim had taken him"(3) (Elohist source). Those arts, subsequently hallowed by being piously applied to the worship of the Eternal, were primarily invented for an utterly worldly and altogether material use by the gifted and ingenious race of the Accursed.

The three names of the sons of Lemek, Yâbâl, Yûbâl and Tûbal, are derived from the one root, *yâbal*. Their formation offers us the first example of a mode of procedure dear to the Semite heart, in the invention of names for allegorical personages, and the building up of those Thôledôth, which are

(1) Luke xvi. 8. (2) Genesis iv. 26. (3) Genesis v. 24.

their most customary methods of representing the principal phases of primitive history.(1)

We find this system most fully developed in the legendary genealogies of the Arabs. In them Qaîn is called Qabîl, in order to give him a name in assonance with that of Habîl; in them we have the brother pairs of Shiddîd and Shaddâd, the two sons of 'Âd; Mâlik and Milkân, the two sons of Kinânâ; in the same way that the two angels of death are called Munkar and Nekir, etc.(2) The prophet Yeḥezqêl resorts to the same system when he personifies (in his twenty-third chapter) the cities of Shomrôn and Yerushalaîm by the two sisters Oholah and Oholibah. Renan(3) was correct in recognizing the system, as employed in the combination of the mythic Thôledôth of the Phœnicians, which Philo of Byblos borrowed from the book of Sanchoniathon. Traces of it are found elsewhere, though not so abundantly, among nearly all nations, and especially among the ancient Hindus.(4)

In addition to the three brothers thus denominated

(1) Primitive history, expressed by myths among the Aryans, is everywhere among the Semitic nations expressed by tables or patriarchal genealogies. See on this subject the ingenious views of Baron d'Eckstein: *Journal Asiatique*, Août-Septembre, 1855, p. 212 et seq.; *Revue Archéologique*, first series, vol. XII, p. 698 et seq.

(2) See on this subject the excellent observations, especially rich in facts, made by Goldziher (*Der Mythos bei den Hebræern*, p. 232 et seq.) [Eng. Trans., 1877, p. 347 et seq. Tr.].

(3) *Mém. de l'Acad des Inscrip.*, new series, vol. XXIII., 2d Part, p. 261

(4) E. Burnouf, *Introd. à l Histoire de Bouddhisme*, 1st Ed., p. 360.

by different derivations from the same root, the fragment drawn by *Genesis* from the ancient Jehovist document adds a sister, Na'amâh, who completes the list of the children of Lemek, but whose name simply is given, without anything further being told. The Jewish tradition of a later time has at this point been inclined to fill up a void in the Bible, and attribute to Na'amâh a character analogous to her brothers'; thus the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan calls her "the mistress of mourners and singers." As an aid to the serious study of the Bible narrative, its sources and its character, this tradition has no more value than the ingenious, but unfounded, speculations of those modern commentators who find in the name of Na'amâh, "the charming," an expression of the progress of the art of dress and feminine coquetry in the Qaînite civilization.

In their essential character of inventors of the material arts, the three sons of Lemek find altogether worthy parallels in the mythic genealogies of Phœnicia, as made known to us through the fragments of Sanchoniathon. In the first of the cosmogonic pieces under his name,(1) the first two human beings, Protogonos and Aïon (Âdâm and Ḥâvâth), begat Genos and Genea (Qên and Qenâth), from whom descended three brothers, called Light, Fire and Flame, because "they found out how to produce fire by rubbing together two bits of wood, and then taught the use of this element."(2) In another

(1) P. 14 et seq., ed. Orelli. See first appendix at the close of this volume, II. *E.*

(2) In general, the fictitious names given to inventors by the

fragment, which we have already had occasion to dwell upon,(1) we find, following close upon each other, at the beginning of all things, the brother pairs of Autochthon and Technites (Âdâm and Qên), inventors of brickmaking; Agros and Agrotes (Sadê and Çêd), fathers of agriculturists and hunters; followed by Amynos and Magos, "who taught people to live in villages and to raise flocks."(2) I said above that in the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to restore the original forms of these last two names, in which we can only guess at an assonance analogous to that existing between Yâbâl, Yûbâl, and Tûbal. But the expression *κώμας καὶ ποίμνας*, which the Greek text uses in reference to the invention of Amynos and Magos, is an exact translation of the terms *ôhel umiqneh*, employed in the Bible, when speaking of the dwellings of the descendants of Yâbal.(3) In the same way, Lemek, by the signification of his name and by the savage character which he displays in the legend that portrays him, is a veritable synonym of Agrotes; and the qualifying term *Alêtai*, given to Agros and Agrotes in the Greek of the *Phœnician History*, marvellously accords with the physiognomy of the

ancient legends were directly suggested by the object of the invention itself. See numerous examples in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VII., 57; comp. Maury [Qy., Delatre? Tr.], in the *Athénæum français*, 1854, p. 96; *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce*, vol. I., p. 231 et seq.

(1) P. 160 et seq.

(2) P. 20 et seq., ed. Orelli. See first appendix at the end of this volume, II. *F.*

(3) *Genesis* iv. 20.

Qaînite race in the Biblical narrative, whether we take *ἀλῆται* as a simple Hellenic transcription of the Semitic *Êlîm*, "the strong, the powerful ones," or accept it in its Greek signification, "the wanderers," since this is the fate of Qaîn and his race, according to the terms of the condemnation which was imposed upon him after his crime,(1) and is besides the meaning of 'Irad, the name of his grandson; only the genealogy in Sanchoniathon does not end with Amynos and Magos, as does that of the Qaînites in the Bible with the three sons of Lemek. These two personages are followed by Misôr and Sydyk, "the unfettered and the just," as translated by Sanchoniathon, but more correctly "the right and the just" (Mishôr and Çüdüq), "who discovered the use of salt."(2) Of Misôr was born Taautos (Taût), to whom we are indebted for letters; and of Sydyk, the Cabiri or Corybantes, the fathers of navigation.(3) At this

(1) *Genesis* iv. 14.

(2) In the Greek version of Philo of Byblos, there certainly must be one of those misconceptions of which it is full and which produce the most singular combinations.

(3) It was this text which Movers (*Die Phœnizier*, vol. I., pp. 651–655) took as his starting point when he proceeded to build up a complete system, according to which Sydyk must have been the Hephaistos of Phœnicia, and the Cabiri his sons, demiurges working under him, represented upon the monuments with hammer in hand, like the gods of the smithy. All this lacks accuracy, and cannot be seriously justified either by means of literary or artistic proof; being in truth merely fanciful, resulting from a preconceived idea (see Fr. Lenormant, in Daremberg & Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, vol. I., p. 772 et seq.). The real Hephaistos of the Phœnicians is quite different from Çüdüq; he is mentioned a little earlier in the Sanchoniathon fragments (p. 18, ed. Orelli; see first appendix at the end of this

point the genealogy assumes a decidedly more mythical coloring than at first; the personages ceasing to be human heroes, as in former generations, and coming out distinctly as gods.(1) In fact, Damasius speaks of Çüdüq also as a god, father of the eight Kabîrîm, who are represented upon a bronze coin of Berytus, bearing the head of the Emperor Heliogabalus,(2) with a vessel near them, in the character of protectors of navigation. We are justified, however, in taking account here of this almost inextricable amalgamation of purely divine personifications and representatives of the primordial ages of humanity, which we find in all the heroic traditions of pagan peoples, and from which the inspired writers of the

volume, II. *F*). This is Chusôr, Hushôr, known also to Damascius (*De prim. princip.*, 125, p. 385, ed. Kopp; see first appendix at the end of this volume, II. *B*), who calls him Chusôros Anoigeus, Hûshôr-Ptah. Sanchoniathon adds that he was also called Zeus-Meilichios, which is to say Malâk, "the workman," and it is in this character, regarded as eponym and protecting deity of the city, that his head, with the attributes of the classic Vulcan, figures upon the obverse of the coins of Malâkâ in Spain (Gesenius, *Monum. phœnic.*, pl. 41, No. xix.; Judas, *Etude démonstrative de la langue phénicienne*, pl. ii., No. 22; L. Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique*, vol. III., p. 159; Aloïs Heiss, *Monnaies antiques de l'Espagne*, pl. xlv.), whose name signifies "the office, the workshop" (Schrœder, *Die phœnizische Sprache*, p. 172 [N. 9]).

(1) *Ap.* Phot., *Biblioth.*, 242, p. 352, ed. Bekker; comp. Sanchoniathon, pp. 32 and 38, ed. Orelli.

(2) Eckhel, *Doctr. num. vet.*, vol. III., p. 359; Mionnet, *Descrip. de Méd. Antiques*, vol. V., p. 347, No. 87; *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, Daremberg & Saglio, vol. I., p. 773, fig. 918. In fact, the saying was that the sovereignty of Berytus was given to the Kabîrîm: Sanchoniathon, p. 38, ed. Orelli; see the first appendix at the end of this volume, II. *G*.

Bible alone have been able to free their recitals. At least it may be granted remarkable that the qualification, *îsh çaddîq*, "just man," is precisely the epithet given to Nôaḥ in Genesis.(1) This seems to afford some ground for the supposition that in the heroic legends of Kena'an a certain assimilation was established between "the Just One," the parent of a new human race, and the god Çüdüq or Çadüq, and between the sons of this Just One and the Kabîrîm, something like the similarity we have already traced in some respects between the three sons of the first man and the Cabiri, or the Corybantes of Asia Minor and Samothracia. Among the Phœnicians and Chaldeans there did not exist two parallel lines of primitive heroes, the one criminal, the other righteous, the one accursed, the other blessed; there was but one, and in this fact may be found the true application of the idea that some rationalistic critics have been mistakenly looking for in the Jehovist document of the Bible, where it could not exist, to the effect that Nôaḥ was descended from Qaîn,—to use here the Hebrew names which alone we are absolutely certain of as to meaning. The originality of the Biblical narrative lies precisely in this distinction between these two antagonistic lines of the representatives of antediluvian humanity, a distinction proceeding necessarily from that moral reprobation, so energetic and lofty in the tone of its teaching, with which the crime of fratricide was denounced; and it is in this sense alone that it can be granted that the two tables of Qaînites and Shêthites

(1) vi. 9; vii. 7.

were formed by a systematic duplicating of a single primitive list, which may have been common to the Teraḥites and to other people of the same race, the names on this primitive table being carefully arranged and modified in either line in such manner as to present in Hebrew a meaning in accordance with the characteristics attributed severally to the children of Qaîn and of Shêth.

Some modern exegetes have deliberately made Yabal, Yûbal and Tûbal stand for a triad of divinities, adored by the ancestors of the Hebrews in a remote antiquity. Such is the system of Hasse(1) and of Buttmann,(2) which rests upon the onomastic similarities of a highly fantastic philology, as, for instance, Yûbal=Apollo, Tûbal-Qaîn=Volcanus=Telchin,(3)

(1) *Entdeckungen*, vol. II., p. 37 et seq.

(2) *Mythologus*, vol. I., pp. 163–170.

(3) We have a right to be suprised that such etymology could have been revived in our day, and indeed in an aggravated form, by George Smith (*Chaldean Account of Genesis*, pp. 56 and 296) [not in Rev. Ed., Sayce, pp. 50, 316. Tr.], whose philology, in consequence of a defect of early education, by no means rose to the height of his acute genius. The old god Fire of the Accadians, who plays so important a part in the hymns of the collection on Magic (on this god see Fr. Lenormant, *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, pp. 191–195) [*Chald. Magic*, pp. 185–189. Tr.], was called *Gibil* in the language of this people (Fr. Delitzsch, *G. Smith's Chaldæische Genesis*, p. 270), and this name is generally written *bil-gi*, in virtue of a law of reversal in the order of characters in writing, of which we have a goodly number of examples (Fr. Lenormant, *La langue primitive de la Chaldée*, p. 421). The sign which represents the syllable *gi*, phonetically, possesses also the ideographic value of "reed," the Assyrian name of which was *qanu*. Starting from this last fact, Smith has imagined for the name of the god Fire the reading *Bilkan*, which is, as already

in the same way that Yahveh=Jovis. Such fancies need not be discussed. "Who knows," says Renan,(1) with more reserve, "if Yûbâl and Tûbal-Qaîn, who appear as inventors of music and of metallurgy, be not ancient divinities, one of whom carried an axe, the other a musical instrument, transformed by the Euhemerism natural to the Semites into patriarchs and inventors?" Finally, Goldziher considers that the name of Yâbâl is identical with that of Hâbel,(2)—which, philologically speaking, would be a difficult point to concede to him;—and this name gives him the signification of the rainy sky; Yâbâl forms with Tûbal a duality which repeats that of Hâbel and Qaîn,(3) personifying as well the alternations of day and night, whence the too ingenious mythologist is led to the conclusion that, although the text hints at nothing of the sort, it was his son Yâbâl(4) whom Lemek slew in the original myth, he being the sun and Yâbâl the night;(5) furthermore, supposing that in the same myth there was an enmity between Yâbâl and Tûbal, like that between the two first-born sons of Âdam.

It is a fact that the name of the sister of the three

demonstrated by Friedrich Delitzsch, a simple impossibility and a genuine linguistic monstrosity; and he believed that he had found in this name Bilkan the common origin of Tûbal-Qaîn, on the one hand, and of Vulcan on the other.

(1) *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, new series, vol. XXIII., 2d Part, p. 263.

(2) *Der Mythos bei den Hebræern*, p. 130 et seq. [Eng. Trans., 1877, p. 111 et seq. Tr.]

(3) P. 151. [Eng. Trans., p. 130. Tr.]

(4) And not Tûbal, which at least would have had in its favor the Rabbinical tradition lately referred to by us.

(5) P. 150. [Eng. Trans., p. 129. Tr.]

sons of Lemek, Na'emâh or Na'amâh, was also that of a Phœnician goddess,(1) whom the Greeks called Nemanoun,(2) or Astronome ('Âshtar-No'emâ), afterwards changed into Astronoe(3) and Astynome.(4) The Rabbins see a Venus(5) in the Biblical Na'amâh, a demon of the night and of nocturnal impurity.(6) They say that this sister of Tûbal-Qaîn, whom some among them called the wife of Nôaḥ,(7) was one of the four spouses(8) of Sam-

(1) Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, vol. I., p. 636 et seq.; Fr. Lenormant, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1878, p. 167.

(2) Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.*, 15.

(3) Damasc. *ap* Phot. *Biblioth.*, 242; p. 352, ed. Bekker.

(4) Jul. African. *ap* Cedren., vol. I., p. 28; *Chron. Paschal.*, vol. I., p. 66.

(5) Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigraph. Veter. Test.*, vol. I., p. 274 et seq.

(6) Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. II., p. 423.

(7) *Bereschith rabbah*, sect. 23.

(8) These four wives of Sammaël are, according to the *Paraschah Bereschîth* (fol. 15, col. 4), Lilith, Na'amah, Igereth and Maḥalath; according to the *Touf haareç* (fol. 19, col. 3), Lilith, on this occasion identical with Ḥavah, Na'amah, Ebhen Mashkith and Igereth, daughter of Maḥalath. In the *Yalqout ḥadasch* (fol. 108, col. 3) and the *Galânte* (fol. 7, col. 1) there are but two Qeliphôth or female demons, Mahalath and Lilith. Lilith is the female demon of night, well known to the prophets of Israel (Is. xxxiv. 14), the *Succubus*, who holds, with her male fellow, the Lil or *Incubus*, an important place in Chaldaic demonology (Fr. Lenormant, *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, p. 40 [*Chaldæan Magic*, London, 1877, p. 38. Tr.]); she became the nucleus of an immensely long rabbinical legend, according to which she makes her way to Âdâm and unites herself with him (Buxtorf, *Lexicon Talmudicum*, p. 1140; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. II., p. 413 et seq.; Genesius, *Commentar über den Jesaia*, vol. II., p. 916 et seq.). Maḥalath is the daughter of Yishmaël, wife of 'Êsâv, mentioned in Genesis xxviii. 9. As for Igereth, she is

maël,(1) the demon of the planet Mars, or, as he was otherwise called, Shomrôn,(2) and mother of the demon of voluptuousness, Ashmedaï,(3) and of many other demons.(4) Finally, they add that she dwelt at Tyre, where the sacred island is called Asteria, the abode of Astronome or Astynome, according to the *Chronicon Paschale*.(5) It is known that the Rabbins identified the demon Sammaël with 'Êsâv,(6) brother of Ya'aqôb,

said to be, as has been already stated, the daughter of Maḥalath (Eisenmenger, vol. II., p. 417).

(1) On the demon Sammaël, who is an ancient divinity of the planet Mars, see Selden, *De diis Syris*, syntagm. II., 6, p. 232; Buxtorf, *Lexic. Talmud.*, p. 1495; Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, vol. I., p. 224; Finzi, *Ricerche per lo studio dell' antichità assira*, p. 531. He is made likewise a demon of death, completing thus his identity with a form of Chaldeo-Assyrian Nergal (on the character of Nergal as god of death and the original signification of his name, see Friedr. Delitzsch, *G. Smith's Chaldæische Genesis*, pp. 274–276). His name may possibly be one with that of the god Shamelâ, one of the co-regents of Asshur, in the city to which this great Assyrian god gave his name (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 66, obv., l. 1, *e*). This Shamelâ is, in fact, manifestly identical with the Shemâl, chief of the genii, who occupied the front rank in the pagan worship of Ḥaurân, even posteriorly to Islamism (Moḥammed ben Isḥâq en-Nedim, in Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, vol. II., pp. 24, 26, 29, 30, 35), and whom Chwolsohn correctly compares with Sammaël (*Ibid.*, vol. II., pp. 217–223). This name seems to characterize the god as him of the left side, that is to say of the North.

(2) Eisenmenger, vol. II., p. 416.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Paraschah Bereschith*, fol. 15.

(5) Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, vol. I., p. 637.

(6) Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. I., pp. 624, 647 and 825; Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, vol. I., p. 397; Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire des Fragments de Bérose*, p. 128.

Some assimilate the four female demons, wives of Sammaël, with the four wives of 'Êsâv: Eisenmenger, vol. II., p. 416.

whom they go so far as to call "a strange god."(1) There are reasons for supposing that at a certain epoch an analogous assimilation had been made between Tûbal and the same demon, and this would explain the transformation of Tûbal in the hands of Josephus,(2) when from the smith of the Bible he becomes a warlike and armed hero. With Tûbal regarded in this light, the two children of Lemek and Çillâh resemble such another pair as Sammaël and Na'emah, Nergal and Ishtar, Melqarth and 'Ashtarth, Ares and Aphrodite. But is all this actually conformable to the primitive shape of the tradition preserved in Genesis? I have my strong doubts on the subject, and I believe it to be much more likely a product of that excessive syncretism which seemed to take strong hold on Jewish doctors after a certain period, and was suggested by the artificial resemblance between the names of Na'amâh, daughter of Lemek, and the goddess Na'amâh or No'emâ.

One thing is certain, that none of the names, Yâbâl, Yûbâl and Tûbal, lend themselves to a comparison of the same nature that Na'amâh suggests with the known appellation of any god of Semitic polytheism.(3) These names continue to be absolutely iso-

(1) *Yalqout rouberi gadol*, fol. 62, col. 2.

(2) *Antiq. Jud.*, I., 2, 2.

(3) A Mauritanian god Juba (Minuc. Felix, *Octavian.*, p. 351, ed. Herald.; Lactant., *Divin. Instit.*, I., 15; Isidor. Hispal., *Orig.*, viii., 11), whose name Movers (*Die Phœnizier*, vol. I., p. 537 et seq.) and Schroeder (*Die Phœnizische Sprache*, p. 99) restore as Yûbâ'al, is indeed cited. But this name has nothing in common with the Yûbâl of Genesis. On the contrary, Christian authors who mention the god Juba, quote him as being one of the most positive examples

lated, peculiar to the Biblical text, by whose authors they appear to have been artificially composed, as Knobel has correctly remarked;(1) no mythological correspondents are found for them among any of the Euphratic or Syro-Arabic nations, and the same thing is true of the four names of Patriarchs of the Shêthite line, in whom Ewald(2) fancies that he has discovered the four gods of ancient Hebrew paganism. Out of Mahalalêl he makes a sort of Apollo; he transforms Yered into a god of the

of deified man, and say that he was King Juba, the contemporary of Augustus. Lactantius even compares his apotheosis with that of the Roman Emperors. Tertullian certifies to the custom among the Moors of adoring even their living kings as gods (*Apolog.* 24). St. Cyprian (*De idol. vanit.*, 2) does the same, and both were competent witnesses. This was an old custom of the Libyan nations, and Nicolas of Damascus (*ap* Stob. *Florileg.*, cxxiii. 12; Nicol. Damasc., *Fragm.* 141, in C. Müller, *Fragm. Historic. Græc.*, vol. III., p. 463) mentions a curiously barbarous form among the Panebes. He says: "On the death of their kings they bury their bodies, first cutting off the head, which they enframe in gold and offer worship to it in a temple" (comp. what Herodotus says of the customs of the Issedones in Asiatic Scythia, IV., 26).

In any case, there is no just ground for comparing this Juba as Movers does (*Die Phœnizier*, vol. I., p. 536) with Iolaos of Carthage (Polyb., VII., 9, 2; see Maury in Guigniaut, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, vol. II., p. 1040), son of Hercules-Melqarth and Certha (Apollodor., II., 7, 8), and for seeing in Iolaos a Yûbâ'al. Indeed the true indigenous form of this name of the divine son of the Carthaginian Triad was Yôl, "the first born," and we have this in the Punic inscriptions (Fr. Lenormant, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1876, p. 127).

(1) *Die Genesis*, 2d Ed., p. 65. [3d Ed., by Dillmann, p. 114. Tr.]

(2) *Geschichte des Volkes Israëls*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 356 et seq. [3d Ed , I., pp. 381, 383; Eng. Trans., I., pp. 265–267. Tr.]

waters, Ḥanôk into the sun of the new year, and Methûshelaḥ into Mars. As a general thing, such a creation of gods should not be accepted without due consideration, since it is sure to be a result of the exegetical imagination, more or less plausible, inasmuch as they cannot be evolved, except by an entirely subjective operation of the mind, out of names susceptible of an utterly different interpretation, and without even the beginning of a proof to justify the hypotheses. Moreover, if Yâbâl, Yûbâl and Tûbal had originally been names of deities, it must be admitted that they were curiously stripped of any such character on being received into the genealogy of Genesis. The Biblical text presents them as simple men, and persists in thus defining them. Nothing of supernatural is in their origin or character; they are human beings, mortals; they do not even belong to the chosen and blessed race. The manifest intention of the writer of the Jehovist document, and of the final compiler, who adopted this fragment of his, is to present as ordinary men, and nothing more, those inventors of the arts of whom the neighboring nations, and in fact nearly all the peoples of antiquity, made gods and demigods, in order that the Israelites should be warned against the tendency to pay them divine honors. The inspired writer recognizes in this tendency one of the most insidious allurements to polytheistic practices, and accordingly reacts energetically against it. Hence the coloring under which he presents the ancient national traditions.

Ewald presents a second theory in connection

with the sons of Lemek.(1) He sees in them the representatives and ancestral types of castes analogous to those of Brahmanic India, Yâbâl representing the Vaïçyas, Yûbâl the Brahmans and Tûbal the Kchatriyas. The illustrious Semitic scholar of Göttingen at least need not have gone so far in search of his points of comparison, and would have rendered his theory a little less improbable by citing those castes, traces of which may be discerned at Babylon,(2) or those whose existence and organization among the Sabæans of Southern Arabia have been most accu-

(1) *Geschichte des Volkes Israël*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 364. [3d Ed., I., p. 390; Eng. Trans., I., pp. 272, 273. Tr.]

(2) Diodorus of Sicily (II., 29) attributes this close and rigorous caste characteristic to the Chaldeans, considered simply as a sacerdotal corporation. Taking all classic testimony into consideration, Oppert (article *Babylonians*, in the 3d ed. of *Encyclopédie du xix. Siècle*) does not hesitate to admit that the rule of caste existed in Babylon in all its rigor, while George Rawlinson (*The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, IVth monarchy, chapter vi. [4th Ed., vol. III., p. 13. Tr.]) thinks it rather a question of class than of caste. The enumeration contained in the difficult passage in *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 41, col. 1, l. 31–33, has all the characteristics of a formula which mentions the divers castes of the nation. However, it is not exact to say, as has been done (Oppert and Ménant, *Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée*, p. 75), that there exists in the cuneiform writing a sign expressing the idea of "caste." The terms before which the ideogram in question is prefixed, by way of determinative, in the table of *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 31, No. 5, have too restricted a signification to be regarded as names of castes; they are names of professions. In reality, there are three determinatives in the writing, all three being used in the list which we have just cited, one giving the general idea of "man," one the titles of functions, the third the titles of professions.

rately described to us by classic writers.(1) But this institution, which may with good reason be considered as essentially Kushite, (2) never existed in its vigor among the nations that are, properly speaking, Semitic, particularly the Hebrews. It will not, therefore, be possible to allow it a place among the ancient records collected in Genesis. Moreover, in the definitions given of their occupations and inventions by the Biblical text, the three sons of Lemek do not represent three different modes of life; there are but two, that of the children of ʿÂdâh and that of the son of Çillâh. As Knobel has justly remarked,(3) Yâbâl and Yûbâl form a closely united group; the invention of music is regarded by the sacred author as connected with the pastoral life, on the same principle as, among the Greeks, Pan, the pastoral deity *par excellence*, is the inventor of the syrinx; Hermes, who created the lyre, is Criophoros, "ram-bearer," like a herdsman; Nomios, or "shepherd;" Epimelios, or

(1) Strab., XVI., p. 782.

(2) See d'Eckstein, in the *Athenæum français* of April 22, 1854; Renan, *Histoire des langues Sémitiques*, 1st Ed., p. 300 [4th Ed., p. 318. Tr.]; Fr. Lenormant, *Manuel d'histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, 3d Ed., vol. III., p. 293. The Aryans of India who adopted the rule of caste undoubtedly borrowed it from the populations of Kushite blood, who had preceded them in the basins of the Indus and Ganges, and whom they subjected to their authority. The same institution appears in the kingdom of the Nârikas (not Aryans), on the Malabar coast, who seem likewise to have been Kushites, and whose constitution offers some striking analogies with that of the Sabæans, as pointed out by Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II., p. 580 [2d Ed., 1874, p. 584 et seq. Tr.]).

(3) *Die Genesis*, 2d Ed., p. 65. [3d Ed., by Dillmann, p. 113. Tr.]

"he who watches over the sheep;"(1) and Apollo himself, the god whose principal attribute is the lyre, reckons among his surnames Nomios, Carneios and a whole series of analogues, showing him to be a shepherd-god, the part which he played on earth in the service of Admetus.(2) Moreover, without wandering off into comparisons with the mythology of the people of other races, the alliance of the cultivation of music with the pastoral life, in the customs of the ancient Hebrews, is attested by the history of David, who, in his youth, unites the two qualities of shepherd and skilled player on the kinnôr.

There is still a last theory, which views in the sons of Lemek ethnic personifications, or at least types of the great human families, as are the sons of Nôaḥ. This is Knobel's theory,(3) and though I cannot agree with this scholar when he makes out the Qaînites to be the Chinese and Mongolian nations, since the geographical horizon of the traditions in Genesis does not include them, I do not hesitate to admit that at bottom his way of regarding the subject is the correct one. Ethnic personifications stand foremost in the Biblical narratives of the beginning of things, and this is a consequence of the peculiar genius of the people among whom these narratives grew up. Baron d'Eckstein remarks admirably(4) in this connection:

(1) See Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 307 et seq.

(2) Preller, same work, vol. I., p. 207 et seq.

(3) *Die Genesis*, 2d Ed., p. 53 et seq. [See, on the other hand, 3d Ed., by Dillmann, p. 99 et seq. Tr.]

(4) *Questions relatives aux Antiquités des Peuples Sémitiques* (Paris, 1856), p. 51.

"Instead of gods, the Semites place men at the head of their genealogies: here we do not meet with heroes, sons of gods or demigods, offshoots of the One God in so many divine manifestations: here are Shepherd-Patriarchs, leaders of pastoral tribes, and this pure Semitic type is used to describe all the outlying human kind. The patriarchs of this character should always be taken collectively, as standing for their actual family, the collateral branches of their kindred, or even the tribe as a whole, including servants and slaves. They figure in a double sense, as a simple unit and as a collective unit; this genealogical method is fixed among the Hebrews and Arabs."

I feel with Fresnel,(1) that it would be suggestive to establish an analogy between the shepherd descendants of the sons of 'Âdâh in Genesis iv. 20 and 21 and the impious and more than half mythical people of 'Âd, supposed in the Arab traditions to be the first inhabitants of Yemen.(2) Destroyed by a divine chastisement, recalling that of the cities of Pentapolis in Genesis xix., the people of 'Âd are represented in the legend as a nation of giants, of the same nature as those mentioned in Genesis vi. 4. Exactly on the same principle, the ancestors of Amynos and Magos, in the Phœnician cosmogonies, whose analogy

(1) *Journal Asiatique*, Août, 1838, p. 220.

(2) Hamza, *Annal*, ed. Gottwaldt, pp. 123 and 128; Kazwîni, vol. II., p. 43; Aboulfeda, *Hist. anteislam*, ed. Fleischer, pp. 16, 18, 20 and 178; D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, words *Ad* and *Houd;* Pococke, *Spec. Hist. Arab.*, p. 35 et seq.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, vol. I., p. 11 et seq.; Fr. Lenormant, *Manuel d'histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, 3d Ed., vol. III., p. 256 et seq.

with the sons of Lemek we have proved beyond question, are represented as Titans,(1) and the sons of Light, Fire and Flame, the discoverers of fire, offspring of Genos and Genea (Qên and Qênath), as giants whose names have been transmitted to the mountains.(2)

Most certain of all, to my thinking, is the comparison, or, more properly speaking, the absolute identification which Tuch,(3) Baron d'Eckstein,(4) Renan,(5) and W. A. Wright,(6) establish between "Tûbal the smith, forger of every instrument of iron and of brass," and the people of Tûbal, who sold at Tyre "slaves, and utensils of brass, in exchange for its merchandise."(7) It is true that the people of Tûbal, in other words the Tibarites, and the Chalybes,(8) celebrated for their work in metals far back in remote antiquity, are mentioned in Genesis x. 2, among the sons of Yâpheth. But this is not the only time that Genesis gives us the same ethnic name in two distinct genealogies, to explain the various race strata which have succeeded one an-

(1) Sanchoniath., p. 22, ed. Orelli.

(2) Sanchoniath., p. 16, ed. Orelli.

(3) *Kommentar über die Genesis*, p. 118 et seq. [2d Ed., by Arnold and Merx, p. 93. Tr.]

(4) *Athenæum français*, 19 Août, 1854, p. 775.

(5) *Histoire des langues Sémitiques*, 1st Ed., p. 460. [4th Ed., p. 487. Tr.]

(6) In Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. III., p. 1574 [Am. Ed., 1871, IV., p. 3327. Tr.]; see also Fr. Lenormant, *Les premières civilisations*, vol. I., p. 133.

(7) Ezek. xxvii. 13.

(8) Knobel, *Die Vœlkertafel der Genesis*, p. 109 et seq.; Fr. Lenormant, *Les premières civilisations*, vol. I., p. 122 et seq.

other in the formation of the same people; it will suffice to mention Shebâ, of the blood of Ḥam,(1) and Shebâ, son of Yâqtân, in the descent of Shêm.(2) Moreover, the genealogy of the Qaînites in the fourth chapter of Genesis and the ethnographic table in chapter x. do not proceed from the same source; the one being taken from the Jehovist, the other from the Elohist, document. Hence it is entirely possible that a divergence may have existed in these two documents regarding the origin assigned to Tûbal.

Here, however, we can only indicate this hypothesis briefly, but will trace it out more in detail in the twelfth chapter. In that we shall study the question as to the limitations of the universality of the Flood, as understood by the authors of the documents drawn upon in compiling Genesis, and likewise the view of its final editor, and we believe that we shall be able to prove on solid grounds that there are two great families of nations, perfectly well known to the Hebrews, with whom they came frequently into contact, who were always systematically excluded from the descent of the three sons of Nôah, like the negroes, known also to the Hebrews, and that because in their veins flowed the blood of Qaîn. These are, on the one hand, the most ancient layer of the population of Palestine, anterior to the Kena'anites, of whom the Benê-Yisraël found some remains, always described in the Bible narrative under legendary colors, most frequently as giants—Emîm, Rephâîm, Zamzummîm, Zûzîm, 'Anâqîm,

(1) Genesis x. 7. (2) Genesis x. 28.

and, as I think, the people of ʻAmâlêq. On the other hand, we have the metallurgic nations, of a very ancient civilization, speaking agglutinative idioms, like the Accadians, the Elamites and the Proto-Medes, to whom we are accustomed to give the more or less exact name of Turanians of Western Asia.(1) These two great national branches, these two ethnic families, are the ones which appear to me to be represented in the fourth chapter of Genesis by the division of the children of Lemek into the sons of ʻÂdâh and Çillâh, the bright one and the dark one, a maternal distinction, which seems to imply that of the Northern and Southern races.

If this theory were accepted, it would follow that the ethnic name of Tûbal, traced back to the root *yâbal*, in order to give it a Hebrew meaning, must have been the type upon which the names of the two remaining sons of Lemek were artificially formed, they being in like manner drawn from the same root *yâbal*, but in such a way that the appellation of the shepherd Yâbâl expressed the abundant fruitfulness of the flocks, while that of the musician Yûbâl represented the joyous sound (*yûbêl*) of the instruments of music which he is said to have invented.

In any case, the very nature and extent of the observations which the antediluvian genealogies of the Jehovist document, inserted in the fourth chapter of Genesis, suggest to us by the details which they record in regard to the personages mentioned therein,

(1) See Fr. Lenormant, *Les premières civilisations*, vol. I., p. 132 et seq.

justify Philippe Berger's[1] well-expressed statement. According to this scholar, the Thôledôth of Jehovist origin present the ancient Hebrew tradition of the beginnings under a much more ancient form than do those of Elohist origin. Herein they retain a more strictly legendary character, not having been so rigorously despoiled of every trace of mythical suggestion, everything outside of the record of a dry and exact human genealogy. This is the very conclusion which we have ourselves reached, and in which we shall be confirmed as our studies progress.

(1) Article *Généalogies,* in the Protestant *Encyclopédie de sciences religieuses.*

CHAPTER VI.

THE TEN ANTEDILUVIAN PATRIARCHS.

After having examined the facts ascribed to the antediluvian period by the Jehovist document, and studied the two genealogical tables of Shêthites and Qaînites in their reciprocal relations, it remains to us to investigate the principle on which the list of patriarchs, from generation to generation, beginning with Shêth and ending with Nôaḥ, was constructed. With this new part of our research, we shall find ourselves confronted with an imposing array of concordant testimony, gathered in from the four quarters of the earth, which leaves no room for doubt in regard to the common ground of the ancient narratives touching the primal days of man among all the great civilized nations of the old world. The agreement as to the number of antediluvian patriarchs with the Bible statement in the traditions of nations most diverse one from another, is manifested in a striking way. They are ten in the story of Genesis, and with a strange persistence this number ten is reproduced in the legends of a very great number of nations, when dealing with their primitive ancestors, yet shrouded in the mist of fable. To whatever epoch they trace back these ancestors, whether before or after the

deluge, whether the mythic or historic side predominate in their physiognomy, they invariably offer this sacramental number ten.[1]

The names of the ten antediluvian kings mentioned in the Chaldaic tradition have been transmitted to us through the fragments of Berossus,[2] but unfortunately in a form much altered by successive copyists of the text. We will give the table of their designations parallel to that of the corresponding patriarchs in Genesis.[3]

(1) Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israël*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 351. [3d Ed., I., p. 375 et seq.; Eng. Trans., I., p. 262 et seq. Tr.]

(2) Fragments 9, 10, 11, of my edition.

(3) I have judged it expedient to furnish a commentary upon this table in some rather extended notes, which break in upon the continuity of the text during several pages. The various details contained in these notes seemed to me too important to be overlooked, but it was not easy to introduce them in any other way in the natural course of the chapter.

ANTEDILUVIAN PATRIARCHS OF THE BIBLE.		ANTEDILUVIAN KINGS OF THE CHALDAIC TRADITION.			
		NAMES.			
Names.	*Facts related in regard to them.*	*In the Fragments of Berossus.*	*Corrected forms.*(1)	*Original forms.*	*Facts related in regard to them.*
1. Âdâm (man).		1. Alôros.	Adôros.	Adiuru.	1st divine revelation.(2)
2. Shêth (foundation).(3)		2. Alaparos.			2d divine revelation.
3. Enôsh (man).	Men then began to invoke by the name of Yahveh.	3. Almelon or Amillaros.			
4. Qênân (creature).		4. Ammenon.		Ḫammanu.	3d divine revelation.
5. Mahalal'êl (Praise of God).(4)		5. Amegalaros or Megalaros.(5)			4th divine revelation.
6. Yered (descent.)(6)		6. Daônos or Daôs.(7)			Surnamed "shepherd." 5th divine revelat'n.
7. Ḥanôk (Initiator).(8)	He walks in the ways of the Eternal, and is translated to heaven.	7. Edoranchos or Evedôreschos.			6th and last divine revelation.
8. Methûshelaḥ (man with the dart).(9)		8. Amemphsinos.			
9. Lemek (strong young man).(10)		9. Otiartes or Ardates.	Obartes.	Ubaratutu.	
10. Nôaḥ (consolation) (11)	In his time the Deluge.	10. Xisuthros or Sisithros.		Ḫasisatra.	In his time the Deluge.

NOTES ON THE PRECEDING TABLE.

(1) We can correct only a very small proportion of the names, being those whose original forms have been so far discovered in the cuneiform documents.

(2) These successive divine revelations are recorded in the Chaldaic legend as made by the gods to the creatures, half man, half fish, who came out of the Erythræan Sea. In regard to the order in which they were supposed to come, and the reigns in which they occurred, see Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire des Fragments de Bérose*, pp. 242–251, and especially the second appendix at the end of the present volume.

(3) This interpretation is philologically the most probable in Hebrew, and is not at variance with the allusive etymology given in Genesis iv. 25.

A whole series of legends, some traces of which are found in Josephus (*Antiq. jud.*, I., 2, 3), have grouped themselves about the name of the patriarch Shêth. They make him the inventor of letters and science (Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraph. Veteris Testamenti*, I., p. 146), a tradition accepted by the mediæval Greeks (Johann. Antioch, frag. 2 in C. Müller, *Fragm. historic. græc.*, vol. IV., p. 540; Mich. Glycas, *Annal.*, p. 121, edit. of Paris; Tzetz., *Chiliad.*, V., 26), and a rabbinical tradition locates his grave at Arbela (Schindler, *Pentaglot.*, col. 144). Sir Henry Rawlinson (*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, vol. I., 1st Part, p. 195; comp. Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire des Fragments de Bérose*, pp. 270–275) has proved that all these fables are the result of an assimilation made by certain sectaries of the first Christian centuries between the patriarch called the son of Adam in the Bible and one of the great divinities of the religions of Semitic Asia.

The Assyrian documents in fact mention a god Shita, the seat of whose worship was the city of Bit-Adar (*Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 66, rev., l. 31, *e*), near Arbail or Arbela. On the other hand, the Egyptian monuments introduce us to Set or Sutekh (a stronger and longer form), as the great deity of the Khetas at the north of Syria, and also of the Asiatic shepherds, who at a certain epoch invaded the valley of the Nile and ruled over Egypt. As a Syrian god, Set is clearly assimilated with Ba'al, but, over and above this, he had been from time immemo-

rial the national god of the half-Semitic populations of the Delta, and later became the adversary of Osiris in Egyptian mythology: De Rougé, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, new series, vol. XXV., 2d Part, p. 232 et seq. See also the works of Pleyte on *La Religion des Pré-Israélites*, and of Ed. Meyer, on *Set-Typhon;* finally, H. G. Tomkins, *Studies on the Times of Abraham*, pp. 145–151.

In the form under which it occurs in the hieroglyphic text, the name of Set is purely Egyptian, with a significance in that language. I will here give the answer of my learned friend G. Maspero to a question addressed to him by myself in regard to the possibility of finding for this name a meaning analogous to that of the Biblical Shêth. "The determinative of 'stone' is accounted for by the variations of the name of the god Set; it is in the way of a play on words. The form ST is the phonetic character for the designation of 'the foreign country,' 'the mountain,' as well as for the name of the god Set. The expression of this god's name by means of two phonetic signs, ST, and the determinative of stone, is a most natural orthography, as Set was the god of foreign lands and of the desert, this method of writing his name recalling his origin and his attributes. The hypothesis of a comparison with Shêth might be barely possible. ST might be derived from *tu*, 'to place, to rear.' But I entertain grammatical objections to this view of the matter. The factor of *tu* gives us the pronunciation *stu stôu*, which might strictly be carried on to the form *Sutkhu*, pronounced *Stukhu* (?), but not to ST. The modern form of the name is Σῆθ, *Sît;* my unpublished researches on vocalization have led me to the original vocalization *Sîti*, for the old form, differing from the royal name *Sitiŷ*, which signifies 'the Setian,' in the position of the accent which in *Sîti* is placed on *Sî*, and in *Sitiŷ* on *ŷ;* whence the weakening of the vowel in *Si* and the probable pronunciation *Siti*, *Sete*, Σέθωσις, or rather Σεθώσις."

Admitting these learned and valuable observations, there remains for the name of Seth the possibility of a fact analogous to that which we are able to prove conclusively in regard to the name of Hathor. She likewise appears to have been originally a national divinity of the half-Semitic populations of the Delta, especially of the 'Anu (De Rougé, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.*, new series, vol. XXV., 2d Part, p. 230 et seq.), the 'Anâmîm of Genesis (x., 13), and there

are strong reasons for supposing the name was primitively identical with that of the Syrian 'Ashthar or 'Athar (Fr. Lenormant, *Lettres Assyriologiques*, vol. II., p. 58 et seq.). By leaving it almost precisely its original sound, a pure Egyptian name has been made of it, Ha–t–'Hor, "the habitation of Horus," a signification confirmed by the symbolico-syllabic orthography always employed in writing. This interpretation is not borrowed from the signification of 'Ashthar or 'Athar among the Semites, but from the mythological character attributed to Hathor in the Egyptian religion. Since Set appears of undoubted Semitic origin, as adored by the Khetas, there is a strong probability that his name was transformed by an analogous play of words, which made it Egyptian, when the god himself was admitted within the cycle of the pantheon on the banks of the Nile. The Egyptian meaning and etymology, which are undoubted in the case of Set's name, need not then be an obstacle in the way of accepting the fact of its original outgrowth from a Semitic appellation with perhaps a different meaning. Emmanuel de Rougé does not hesitate to say so, and he compares Set with Shaddai, "the all-powerful," or with the word *shad*, of which this last appellation is the plural of excellence (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.*, new series, vol. XXV., 2d Part, p. 233). The etymology here seems to me a little forced, and if it is necessary to find a Semitic prototype for Set, I think that after the Assyrian deity Shita the probabilities are in favor of Shêth. Set is, in fact, to Shêth as Åstart is to the Phœnician 'Ashtharth, a transcription adopted for this name by the Egyptians when they wished to represent it as that of a strange god.

The Jewish authors from whom Suidas has quoted (in his Lexicon, article Σήθ), say that Shêth was deified by the earliest man, owing to his inventions, and they go so far as to understand by the expression *benê Elohîm*, "the children of God," in the sixth chapter of Genesis, a designation for the descendants of this deified patriarch.

In this way we are able to comprehend the really divine attributes given to the person of the patriarch Shêth by the gnostic sect called Sethites, with far more paganism than Christianity underlying its doctrines, which sprung up on the banks of the Euphrates in the second century of the Christian era. "The theology of the Sethites," says Renan (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, new series, vol. XXIV., 1st Part, p. 166), appears to have been a

genuine Babylonian doctrine, with which it was attempted to mingle a Biblical teaching." See the explanation of their cosmogony in the book of the *Philosophumena*, v., 19, p. 138 et seq., ed. Miller; p. 198 et seq., ed. Duncker and Schneidewin. These sectaries professed a superstitious veneration for Shêth; they said that the great divine Virtue was incarnate in him; that his soul had afterward passed into Christ, and that he made but one with the Redeemer (S. Irenæus, *Adv. hæres.*, I., 30; S. Epiphan., *Adv. hæres.*, I., 3, 239; Theodoret, *Hæret. fab.*, XIV., p. 306; See Tillemont, *Mémoires sur l'histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. II., p. 318). In this way they restored, under a Biblical and half-Christian garb, the worship of the ancient Shita or Set. The book of *Nabatæan Agriculture*, the first version of which in the Aramæan tongue, Renan is, we think, correct in assigning to the period between the third and seventh centuries A. D., again refers to the Sethites (see Renan, *Mém. cit.*, p. 165 et seq.). Ishita, son of Adami, is therein spoken of as a religious legislator and the founder of astrology and astrolatry. According to this book, he had followers called Ishitites; an organized sect sprang from him, owning a sort of supreme pontiff (Chwolsohn, *Ueber die Ueberreste der Altbabylonischen Literatur in Arabischen Uebersetzungen*, p. 27). Quite recent traces have been found of the existence of the Sethites (Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, vol. I., p. 639 et seq.). "All the fables which the Musselmans associate with Shêth (see D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, article *Scheith*), regarding him as the prophet of that human age which they called *the age of Shêth*, have doubtless the same origin," says Renan again. Ibn-Abi-Oçeibiah expressly attributes to the Sabæans or Mendaïtes the opinion that "Shêth taught medicine, and had inherited a knowledge of it from Âdâm" (*Journal Asiatique*, Mars-Avril, 1854, p. 263).

(4) Mahalal'êl may be "praise of God," or "splendor of God," as it is connected with one or other of the acceptations of the root *hâlal.* It is remarkable that the Assyrian name of the month Ulul, to which Mahalal'êl would correspond in the calendar system, which we will presently explain, seems to be derived from this root too. The form *elûl*, with an initial *aleph* instead of *he*, given by the Aramæans and Jews to this month's name when adopting the Assyrian nomenclature, is susceptible of no reasonable or probable etymology. But among these nations the appellations of

the months all have the character of a foreign nomenclature, with no signification in their own languages.

Mahalal'êl's parallel in the Qaînite genealogy is called Meḥû-iâêl, "struck by God." We have already spoken of the substitution of an evil meaning for a favorable signification in the genealogy of the accursed race.

(5) George Smith (*Transact. of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. III., p. 363) proposes to correct Amegalaros to Amelargalos, and to recognize in it, used as a proper name, the title of an important officer in the Babylonian priesthood, being the one who, on the night of the 2d Nisan, at the time of the periodic rising of the Euphrates, recited in honor of the god Bel those liturgic prayers the text of which we have in the *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 46 and 47. The learned English Assyriologist read the title of this priest *Amil-urugal*, a hybrid combination of the Assyrian *amilu* or *avilu* and the Accadian *huru-gal*. There is no doubt that such combinations, monstrous as they may be in philology, do occur sometimes; we have plain instances of them, like the title *Rab-šak*, formed out of the Semitic *rabû*, "great," and the Accadian *šak*, "chief, captain," the reading of which is certified to by a Biblical transcription (2 Kings xviii. 17; Is. xxxvi. 2), and the name of the god Papsukal, the messenger of the gods, from the Accadian *pap* and the Semitic *šukal*, the phonetic expression of which we have in the gloss of *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 68, l. 64, *d-e*.

These two hybrid terms could only have been found, the one in Assyrian, the other in Accadian, in consequence of the Accadian *šak* having become naturalized in Semitic-Assyrian, and reciprocally the Semitic *šukal* in Accadian under the form *sukal*. But such terms should not be accepted, unless they can be very clearly proved, which is not the case with the sacerdotal title which Smith attempts to read *Amil-urugal*. On the contrary, everything about it indicates that the initial sign of the orthography of this title, the sign "man," is, as usual, an aphonous determinative prefix. Thus regarding it, we get the Accadian title *huru-gal*, corresponding with the Assyrian *naçiru rabû*, "great observer," answering very well to the character of the personage in question, attentively considering the progress of the periodic inundation of the river, on which depends the fertility of the country. But if this be the case, the assimilation

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with the Amegalaros or Megalaros of Berossus vanishes like a mist.

(6) The signification "Descent" is the only one given for the name Yered, in the Hebrew acceptation of the root whence it is derived. The Assyrian acceptation of the same root would give "Service," and this meaning might appear preferable. In fact, we shall see in chapter viii. that the Chaldee tradition combines under the name of Ḫasisatra all that the Bible relates concerning Ḥanôk and Nôaḥ, the only two patriarchs of whom it was said that "they walked with God" (of Ḥanôk, Genesis v. 22; of Nôaḥ, Genesis vi. 9). Now, the father of Ḫasisatra is called Ubaratutu, which means "servant of the god Tutu," who is described as "parent of the gods, he who renews the gods" (Cuneiform Tablet in the British Museum, marked K, 2107), and as "he who prophesies in the presence of the king" (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia,* vol. III., pl. 53, No. 2, l. 15). This appellation belongs to the ante-Semitic language of Chaldea, called Accadian, and the Assyrian-Semitic translation of it would be Arad-Tutu. Now, while the extracts from Berossus by Alexander Polyhistor speak of the father of that righteous man who was saved from the Flood as Obartes, which is derived from Ubara-tutu, the extracts made by Abydenus from the same writer call him Ardates, which comes from Arad-Tutu; and the first element in this last form, belonging to the Semitic-Assyrian idiom, is the very one which enters into the name of Yered. Furthermore, among the Chaldeo-Assyrians, the month of the year, corresponding to the father of Ḫasisatra in the calendar system, of which we shall speak presently, is dedicated "to the god Papsukal, servant of the great gods." Now, there always exists a relationship between the nature of the god assigned to the month and the character of the antediluvian patriarch whose myth was connected with the same month. Thus we may safely conclude that just here there occurred a misplacement of person and name between the Biblical and Chaldaic traditions, and that the ninth patriarch among the Chaldæans is the real correspondent to the sixth of Genesis.

But, on the other hand, if we are obliged to fall back upon the hypothesis of a change of position, we must take account of the fact that Yered's name stands in the Shêthite genealogy in the fourth place from Enôsh, the double of Âdâm; that his counterpart, 'Irâd, is the fourth direct from Âdâm in the line of Qaîn,

and that consequently, if primitively there was a single genealogy, anterior to the distinction between the two races, the criminal and the favored one, this was the table naturally most resembling the Chaldaic, and that Yered undoubtedly stood for the fourth generation therein, in which case he would have corresponded to the fifth month in the calendar system which connected the patriarchs and antediluvian kings with the months of the year and the celestial *mazzâlôth.* Now, this fifth month, Ab, is, as we have just seen (p. 147, note 1), mentioned in the inscription known as "of the Barrel-Cylinder of Sargon" (l. 51 of the copy published in the *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. I., pl. 36 ; l. 61 of the copy published by Oppert, *Inscrip. de Dour-Sarkayan*, p. 18), as "the month of the descent (*arad*) of the god Fire, dissipating the damp mists." Thus we should get the key to the origin of the name of Yered, having the meaning of "descent." It would be in accordance with the characteristics of the "month of Fire," as well as with the fiery lion which presides at that time in the Zodiac, and most strikingly of all with the name of the fourth antediluvian king in the Chaldaic list, Ḫammanu, "the burning, the fiery."

It is evident that this question, as it now stands, must be left in uncertainty.

(7) Unfortunately we have no record to aid us in restoring the original form of the name given us in the fragments of Berossus in a Hellenized form as Daônos or Daôs, nor to furnish us with any clue as to the reason of the personage being specially described as a "shepherd." Might it chance to be a translation of his name, which in that event should be corrected to Raôs, from the Assyrian *rieau?* I dare not say. Equally an open problem, to which no solution can yet be offered, is the question of a possible connection between this heroic personage and the god who is called Shar-tuli-elli, "the king of the pure tumulus," the month corresponding to Daônos or Daôs in the construction of the calendar being "the month of the pure tumulus," in Accadian *dul kû*, in Assyrian *tulu ellu.* In any case, the usual Semitic name for this seventh month of the year corresponds manifestly with this symbolic appellation, for *tašrituv* is manifestly related to *ešretu*, "sanctuary, temple," and derived from the same root by another mode of construction.

(8) As many legends clustered about the name of Ḥanôk as

about that of Shêth, in the latter days of Judaism. They were in part suggested by the meaning of this patriarch's appellation, "the initiator," and by the tradition of his prophetic sanctity, grounded upon the words of Genesis regarding him. He was represented as the inventor of letters, of arithmetic and of astrology (Eupolem. *ap* Euseb., *Præparat. evangel.* ix. 17). The most beautiful of the uncanonical Jewish Apocalypses, that which recounts the fall of the rebellious angels, bears his name (A. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, Leipzig, 1853; Ewald, *Ueber des Ethiopischen Buches Henoch Entstehung*, Gœttingen, 1856; Hilgenfeld, *Die Judische Apokalyptik*, Jena, 1857). The Jewish authors quoted by Suidas (in his article Σήθ) say that Ḥanôk was deified like Shêth. In the Qorân and in the Mussulman tradition he receives the name of Idris, and is represented as a type of knowledge and prophecy (see D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, article *Edris*). Idris in Arabic means "the learned," but one is justified in wondering if this designation be not an altered fragment of the ancient Babylonian appellation Grecized by Berossus into Evedôreschos or Edôreschos; Moḥammed may have changed it into a form which had a meaning in his language.

We shall recur to the subject of the person and name of Ḥanôk.

(9) Farther on we shall recur to this name also. The correspondent of Methûshelaḥ in the Qâînite genealogy is called Methushâêl, "the man of God." It is singular that in this instance the name expressing piety and divine emanation should occur in the wicked race.

(10) This is the interpretation of Genesius. Ewald and Delitzsch suggest the meaning "wild man, devastator," in connection with the bloody story told of Lemek and the line of Qaîn. As a matter of fact, the name is very obscure. We have previously spoken of this.

(11) This meaning is clearly indicated in *Genesis* v., 29; it perfectly agrees with Nôaḥ's part in history, and satisfies all the exigencies of philology; therefore there is no object in abandoning it to seek an explanation for the name in "Renewer," with Ewald (*Geschichte des Volkes Israël*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 360 [3d Ed., I., p. 385; Eng. Trans., I., p. 269. Tr.]), a purely conjectural idea.

An Assyrian tradition, preserved by Abydenus,(1) places at the beginnings of the nation, anteriorly to the foundation of Nineveh, ten generations of heroes, eponyms of as many successive cities.(2) The same Abydenus—one of those Greek polygraphers who, during the period of the successors of Alexander, endeavored unsuccessfully to popularize the traditions of the Asiatic nations among their compatriots—appears to have previously recorded the Armenian tradition of a succession of ten ancestral heroes, preceding Aram, who finally organized the nation which took his name, the tradition being subsequently adopted by Mar-Abas Katina and the writers of the school of Edessa,(3) and on their authority by Moses of Khorene,(4) the national historian of Armenia. The Greek Cephalion, contemporary

(1) Euseb., *Chron. Armen.* [I., 12], p. 36, ed. Mai; Mos. Khoren., I., 4.

(2) See Fr. Lenormant, *La Légende de Sémiramis*, p. 16 et seq.

(3) In regard to the personality of Mar-Abas Katina, see Quatremère, *Journal des Savants*, 1850, p. 365; Renan, *Histoire des langues sémitiques*, 1st Ed., p. 244 [4th Ed., p. 262]; *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscrip.*, new series, vol. XXIII., 2d Part, p. 327; Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I., p. 497 et seq.

(4) I., 4.—In this place the list assumes a form which is of a nature to make one doubt its antiquity, for the first four names are taken from Genesis. But this is the result of a factitious assimilation, by which the Armenians converted to Christianity sought to reconcile their national heroes with Biblical characters. By comparing what is said a little farther on by the same Moses of Khorene (I., 8), the list may be restored with certainty to its original, native form: 1. Yapedosthê; 2. Merot; 3. Sirath; 4. Thaglath; 5. Hayg; 6. Armenag; 7. Aramayis; 8. Amasiay; 9. Kelam; 10. Harmay.

of Hadrian, appears also to have been acquainted with this tradition.(1)

The sacred books of the Iranians, attributed to Zarathustra, reckon at the beginnings of man's history nine heroes of an absolutely mythical character, who succeed Gayômaretan, the typical man. About these heroes are clustered all the traditions of the first ages, until they begin to assume a more natural and almost semi-historic character.(2) Thus we have the Paradhâtas of antique tradition, who became the ten Peshdadian kings of the later Iranian legend,(3) and were embalmed in an epopee by Firdûsi, the first terrestrial monarchs, "the men of the ancient law," who were fed on "the pure beverage of haoma, and who preserved their holiness."

In the cosmogonic legends of the Hindus we meet with the nine Brahmâdikas, who with Brahma, their author, make ten, and are called the ten Pîtris or "fathers."(4)

The Chinese reckon ten emperors sharing in the divine nature between Foo-hi and the sovereign with whom the historic age is inaugurated, Hoang-ti, whose advent ushers in Ki, the tenth of those periods which

(1) Mos. Khor., I., 4.

(2) Spiegel, *Avesta*, vol. III., pp. lvi–lxii; C. de Harlez, *Avesta*, vol. III., pp. 2–5.

(3) All the legends relating to these fabulous kings are collected by Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I , pp. 508–580.

(4) On the repetition of the number ten in the Hindu tables for the filiation and genealogy of the first ancestors, see *Laws of Manu*, I., 34 et seq.; *Vishnu-Purâna*, p. 49 et seq. [Wilson, 1st Ed., 1840; ed. Trübner, 1864–77, vol. I., p. 100 et seq. Tr.]; *Bhâgavata-Purâna*, III., 12, 21 et seq.; 20, 9 et seq.; IX., 1, 12 et seq.

followed each other after the creation of man and the beginning of "human sovereignty" upon the earth, Jin-hoang.(1) Finally, not to multiply instances beyond measure, the Germans and Scandinavians believed in the ten ancestors of Wodan or Odin, as did the Arabs in the ten mythical kings of 'Âd, the primal people of their peninsula, whose name signifies "ancient."(2)

In Egypt the first ages of the existence of man are marked by the reigns of the gods upon earth. Manetho's fragments relating to these first epochs have come down to us in such a changed condition that it is difficult to settle with certainty exactly how far this author accepted the belief in divine reigns. But the remains of the celebrated historic papyrus of Turin, as we have them, containing a list of Egyptian dynasties traced in hieratic writing, seem to indicate clearly that the editor of this canon recorded ten kings, who governed men at the beginning of things.(3)

This constant repetition among so many different nations of the number ten is remarkable in the extreme, and so much the more so that the number in question is a round one and systematically chosen.(4)

(1) Pauthier, *Chine, résumé de l'histoire et de la civilisation*, pp. 22–26.

(2) We referred above [p. 213] to the people of 'Âd, and we shall speak of them again in chapter xii.

(3) Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des Ægyptischen Alterthums*, pl. iii.; Champollion-Figeac, *Nouvelle revue encyclopédique*, June, 1846, p. 226 et seq. (after his brother's papers); Bunsen, *Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, vol. I., p. 84 et seq. [Eng. Trans., London, 1848–67, I., p. 53 et seq. Tr.]

(4) Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israël*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 34 et

We have the proof of this when in Genesis[1] we see this same number ten repeated in the case of the postdiluvian generations from Shêm to Abraham, or rather, since the record of the Septuagint version, which here includes one name more than the Hebrew, seems more correctly to represent the ancient text, for the generations from Shêm to Teraḥ, father of three sons, heads of races,[2] who in this resembled Nôaḥ the tenth patriarch from Âdâm.[3] And it would seem that, in the book in which Berossus explains the Chaldaic traditions, the first ten generations after the deluge form a cycle, doubtless an entirely mythical epoch still, an appendage to the ten antediluvian reigns.[4] However, we might seek in vain to connect the selection of this number ten with any one of the refined speculations in regard to the mysterious value of numbers among the philosophical religions of paganism, for the tradition of the ten antediluvian patriarchs did not take root during this later and already advanced stage of human development. We trace it back much farther, to a really primitive epoch, when the ancestors of all the races among whom we have found it still lived contiguous to one

seq. and 351 [3d Ed., I., p. 39 et seq. and 375; Eng. Trans., I., p. 24 et seq. and 262. Tr.].

(1) Chapter xi.

(2) Abrâm, Nâḫor and Hârân.

(3) It may be well to add that in the Thôledôth, or Biblical genealogies, David is separated from Yehûdâh by ten generations. We have always the same round number.

(4) Beros. *ap* Joseph, *Ant. Jud.*, I., 7, 2; Euseb., *Præparat. evangel.*, IX., 16; *Berosi Chaldæorum historiæ quæ supersunt*, ed. Richter, p. 57.

another, intimately enough associated to account for this community of tradition, not being yet scattered abroad to any great extent. At this epoch in the progressive march of acquirement, ten was the highest number which had been reached, consequently the indeterminate number, and the one which was used to express "many" and convey the general idea of plurality. At this stage the primitive quinary numeration, suggested by the fingers on the hand, had passed on to the decimal numeration, based on the digital calculation of the two hands,(1) which has, in the case of most nations, continued to be the point of departure for the most complete and thoroughly perfected computations, which have reached to the point of recognizing no limit to infinite multiplication or infinite division. Now it is necessary to remark that the undisputed affinities of the names of Egyptian and Semitic numbers may be traced exactly to ten,(2) and equally, if there be a relationship between the same names in the Aryan and Semitic tongues, it is likewise restricted within this limit.(3)

(1) Pott, *Die quinære und vigesimale Zæhlmethode bei Vœlkern aller Welttheile*, Halle, 1847; A. Pictet, *Les origines indo-européennes*, vol. II., pp. 564–578; E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. I., pp. 218–246.

(2) This relationship has been brought to light in the most convincing manner by Lepsius, *Ueber den Ursprung und die Verwandtschaft der Zahlwœrter in der Indo-Germanischen, Semitischen und Koptischen Sprachen*. Berlin, 1836. See also Th. Benfey, *Ueber das Verhæltniss der Ægyptischen Sprache zum Semitischen Sprachstamm*, Leipzig, 1844.

(3) Lepsius sustains the affirmative, as well as Ewald and Delitzsch; but it has been combatted by the more recent labors of Goldstücker, with whom Sayce agrees.

It may be seen to what a vastly remote antiquity in the primitive past of the human race we are carried back by the Biblical tradition of the patriarchs before the Flood, compared with the parallel traditions which are incontestably derived from the same source.

Now, the genealogy of the Qaînites offers us seven names from Âdâm to Lemek, father of the three heads of races like Nôah, and we have proved in the preceding chapter that the genealogy of the descent from Âdâm through Shêth shows manifest traces of a systematic arrangement which has carried the seven names parallel to those on the Qaînite line up to ten.(1) In the same way, the Paradhâtas of the Iranian tradition are seven, starting from Yima, who was originally the first man; they became ten only after Gayômaretan was placed before Yima by a double process analogous to that presented in the Biblical genealogy in the case of Adâm and Enôsh; Yima then becomes only the fourth hero instead of the first man, and before him are reckoned Gayômaretan, Haoshyangha and Takhma-u-rupa.(2) In

(1) To make up for this—as has long since been remarked—the addition of the three sons of Lemek fills the list of ten names, as far as the Deluge, on the Qaînite side, as with the Shêthites, only that these ten names spread over eight generations in the line of Qaîn.

(2) Later the ten Paradhâtas were no longer regarded as forming a succession of only ten generations. The enormous period of the reign attributed to Yima (to whom the *Yesht*, XVII., 30, gives 1000 years), and the dominion of Azhi Dahâka, the representative of the evil principle, were divided into a series of generations of the legitimate line, which did not wield the sceptre, in such wise that Thrætaona becomes the ninth in the descent from Yima

Egypt, though the system of the editor of the Turin papyrus accepts ten divine kings, the most generally accepted number in the great sacerdotal centres like Thebes and Memphis was but seven,(1) and this it appears was the view taken by Manetho.(2)

In the Chaldaic tradition the record of the six suc-

(Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I., p. 538). Thrætaona, in his turn, was supposed to have reigned 500 years, and the *Yesht*, XIII., 131, makes his successor, Manustchithra, his fifth descendant, and the ciphers are continually added to until at last Manustchithra is found in the twelfth degree of filiation from Thrætaona (Spiegel, *Ibid.*, vol. I., p. 549). This system, which seems to have been already inaugurated in *Bundehesh* (chapter xxxiv.), and which was adopted by chroniclers in verse and prose in mediæval Iran, counts ten generations from Yima to Thrætaona, as the Bible does ten from Âdâm to Nôaḥ, twelve from Arya, son of Thrætaona, to Manustchithra, as the Bible in the Septuagint version from Shêm to Abraham, and lastly, thirteen after Manustchithra until the mission of Zarathustra (Zoroaster), as the Bible from Yiçḥâq to Dâvid. The parallelism is too striking to be fortuitous (see Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 162; Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I., p. 507). But in this place we have no hesitancy in supposing that the Zoroastrian doctors in the time of the Sassanides calculated according to the Biblical genealogy, which certainly was not unknown to them.

(1) See the table of the system of Thebes and of that of Memphis, in Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, 2d Ed., p. 20. [*History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, London, 1879, I., pp. 27, 28. Tr.]—The list of Thebes contains but six names, because it cuts off from the number of legitimate sovereigns the murderer of Osiris, Set, who was regarded as an usurper and enemy.

(2) C Müller, *Fragm. historic. Græc.*, vol. II., pp. 526, 530 and 533. The list copied by Georgius Syncellus [*Chron.*, p. 19], which follows the Memphite system, contains fifteen names, among them six gods and nine demigods; but Horus is wrongly reckoned among the demigods, for he is the last king of the dynasty of the gods, hence the correct restoration would make out seven gods and eight demigods among the fifteen names.

cessive divine revelations before the Flood deserves serious attention on our part, for this number and the way in which it arose is calculated to make it highly probable that primitively there was reckoned one revelation for each reign or generation until the time of the patriarch during whose existence the cataclysm occurred.(1)

All these facts are so many indications of the fact already noticed by Ewald,(2) viz., that the figures ten and seven have been used alternately, as describing in round numbers the antediluvian ancestors. The Hindus also sometimes substitute the number seven for ten in this connection, and it is in this way that we find them accepting in the beginning of things seven Maharshis or "great ancestral saints,"(3) and seven Pradjâpatis, "masters of the creatures" or primordial fathers.(4) Of these two

(1) Perhaps we should here interpose the observation, already recorded above (p. 226, note 6), that the Chaldæan tradition gathered together under the heading of the tenth king, Ḫasisatra, the occurrences which in Genesis are divided up between the seventh patriarch, Ḥanôk, and the tenth, Nôaḥ, and this seems another indication that the last individual before the Deluge may have been originally the seventh. When the list was extended from seven names to ten, according to this hypothesis, the Chaldæans carried on the whole story to the tenth place, while the Hebrews, on the other hand, divided the story in two parts, leaving one connected with the seventh name, and associating the other, that relating to the cataclysm, with the tenth.

(2) *Geschichte des Volkes Israël*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 350. [3d Ed., I., p. 375; Eng. Trans., I., p. 262. Tr.]

(3) *Mahâbhârata*, *Matsyopâkhyânam*, 30; *Vishnu-Purâna*, p. 23 et seq. [Wilson's. Ed. 1840. Ed. Trübner, 1864–77, I., p. 49 et seq. Tr.], and Wilson's Notes, p. 49 et seq. [Ed. Trübner, I., 100 et seq. Tr.]

(4) Multiplying this figure seven by that of the three ages of the

numbers, between which tradition has wavered, the Chaldeo-Babylonian influence has powerfully contributed to cause that of ten to predominate definitively. They had in fact a special association with it, in consequence of a calendar system which must arrest our attention for a moment, and with the more reason since it was not without influence in the formation of the names attributed to the antediluvian patriarchs in the Biblical genealogy.

According to the fragments of Berossus, the Chaldæan theory allowed a total duration for the ten antediluvian reigns of 120 sars or periods of 3600 years, that is, 432,000 years.(1) The tenth of this duration is 43,200 years, or 12 sars, a period which for the Chaldæans constituted a celestial revolution, and was a true cosmogonic day,(2) for each sar included 60 sosses of 60 years,(3) just as the day was divided

world, we reckon up to twenty-one Pradjâpatis (*Mahâbhârata*, I., 33).

(1) Fragments 9, 10 and 11 of my edition.

(2) There are serious reasons for believing that the Chaldeo-Babylonians valued at this figure the cycle of the precession of the Equinoxes. of which it is simply impossible that they had not formed some idea, after their long-continued astronomic observations (Oppert, *Histoire des empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie*, p. 34; Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*, p. 215).

(3) The system of Chaldaic numeration was sexagesimal, following a scale of 1, 60, 600 and 3600. The three superior orders of units were called soss (60), ner (600), and sar (3600); the last two of these names are unmistakably Accadian, *nieir*, or *ner*, and *šar;* it still remains doubtful whether the first, *šušu*, is of Semitic or non-Semitic origin,—if "sixty" in Accadian was *šuš* or *uš*. In any case, this numeral scale was invariably reproduced in all the orders of measurement (J. Brandis, *Das Münz-Mass-und Gewichts-*

into 12 hours,(1) each of 60 minutes, and each minute comprising 60 seconds.(2) By allowing only 12 hours to the nycthemeris, instead of 24, like ourselves, the Chaldeo-Babylonians calculated the division of the diurnal revolution of the sun upon the division of its annual revolution and that of the Zodiac.(3) Consequently, each of the sars of the period of 43,200 years corresponded to a sign and to a month of the year, as well as to an hour of the day. But this period was itself multiplied by 12, thus a more extended sidereal

wesen in Vorderasien bis auf Alexander den Grossen, pp. 1–40; Fr. Lenormant, *La langue primitive de la Chaldée*, pp. 151–154; Oppert, *L'étalon des mesures assyriennes, fixé par les textes cuneiformes*, Paris, 1875; Lepsius, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Længenmasse nach der Tafel von Senkereh*, in *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, for 1877; Friedrich Delitzsch, *Sar, Ner und Soss*, in *Zeitschr. Ægypt. Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, 1878 [Heft II.]).

(1) Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, vol. I., p. 86 et seq. The testimony of classic authors on this subject has been confirmed by the deciphering of the cuneiform texts. The Babylonians, and subsequently the Assyrians, knew of none other save the double hours or "Babylonian hours," as the Greek astronomers called them; they named them *kasbu*. We have direct proof of this in the tables of observation of the equinoxes (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 51, Nos. 1 and 2), where it says: "The day and the night were equal, six hours of day, six hours of night"—*yumu u muši šitqulu VI kasbu yumu VI kasbu muši.* These tablets prove, as may be seen, that the twelve Babylonian hours were reckoned from one sun to the other, just as Censorinus says (*De die natal.*, 23).

(2) Lepsius, *Chronologie der Ægypter*, p. 128 et seq.; J. Brandis, *Das Münz-Mass-und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien*, p. 19.

(3) Letronne has already observed (in the *Journal des Savants*, 1839 [Oct., p. 585. Tr.]) that the system adopted by the Chaldæan astronomers for the division of the circumference of the heavens (Diod. Sic., II., 30), necessarily led to the division of the diurnal revolution into twelve instead of twenty-four hours.

revolution being obtained, amounting to 144 sars, or 518,400 years. Movers[1] long since realized that the fact of the duration of the ten antediluvian reigns being equivalent to the ten periods of 12 sars established a relation between each reign and one of these periods, months or hours of the great celestial revolution; that thus the antediluvian patriarchs of Chaldea had been referred to those solar mansions of the Zodiac,[2] the *Mazzâlôth*, worshipped by the Hebrews,

(1) *Die Phœnizier*, vol. I., p. 165; also Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire des fragments de Bérose*, p. 238.

(2) According to Diodorus Siculus (II., 30; see third appendix at the end of this volume), the Chaldæans counted on the zodiacal band, divided into twelve signs, thirty-[six] stars, which they called the "gods in council." Under the supremacy of the twelve "master gods," presiding over the signs, one-half of these "gods in council" were charged with the observation of the points in space above the earth, and the other half with those below. Diodorus adds that "every ten days one of the 'gods in council' is sent from the upper to the lower region, as messenger of the stars, while another quits his station below the earth in order to ascend above it, and this periodic displacement, invariably recurring, will go on to all eternity." This is a religious expression of the astronomic fact resulting from the proper movement of the sun, since in reality, every ten days, the third part of a sign, or the 1-36th of the Zodiac, rises in the evening above the horizon, while a third descends below it.

The testimony of Diodorus Siculus is here confirmed by the cosmogonic fragment (Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2d Ed., p. 78, *b*, l. 1–4; see the first appendix at the end of this volume, *I*, *c*, iv.), where it is said of the god Anu determining the motions of the heavens: "He made excellent the mansions, (twelve) in number, for the great gods;—he assigned stars to them, (and) he fixed the *LUmaši* (astronomical expression, of a very doubtful meaning, designating perhaps the stars of the Great Bear, for there are seven of these stars). He defined the year and determined its limits;—for each of the twelve months he fixed

fallen from the faith, during the period of Assyrian influence, together with the sun, the moon and all the heavenly host,(1) and designated even among the Chaldæans by figures, the use of which has come down to us through the medium of the Greeks.(2)

three stars"—*yubaššim manzazi* [*šanešrit*] *ina menuti ilani rabuti—kakkabi yutaršunu* [*va*] *L Umaši yušziz—yuaddi šatta eli*[*ša*] *miçrata yumaççir—šanešrit arḫi šalšati kakkabi ina menuti yušziz.*

The decanal system must, moreover, have originated with a people who reckoned 360 days in their year.

(1) 2 Kings xxiii. 5.

(2) The question of the Chaldæan origin of the Zodiac has been specially studied, in the light of the testimony of classic antiquity, by Ideler in the *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, for 1838, by Letronne in the *Jour. des Savants*, 1839 [Aug.–Nov.], and by Guigniaut in his note 3d of book iv. of Creuzer's *Symbolique: Religions de l'antiquité*, vol. II., p. 896 et seq. That the Chaldæans invented the division of the zodiacal circle into twelve equal parts, corresponding to the twelve months of the year, is universally acknowledged by all masters of the science, for the fact is distinctly attested by the ancients (Diod. Sic., II., 30; Sext. Empiric., *Adv. Astrolog.*, p. 342). But they are divided in opinion as to the origin of the figures and names connected with these dodecatemories. Ideler and Guigniaut hold that the zodiacal signs adopted by the Greeks came to them from Babylon, while Letronne believes them to be of pure Greek invention. For all the talent and subtle ingenuity of criticism employed by him in defence of this theory, it is nevertheless false, and the direct study of Chaldeo-Assyrian monuments brings numerous and decisive proofs to bear in favor of the opinion of Ideler and Guigniaut (see Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire des fragments de Bérose*, pp. 229–231; *Les premières civilisations*, vol. II., pp. 67–73; Sayce, *Transact. of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. III., pp. 161–164).

To begin with, we have on this question a document so clear that it alone would suffice in proof; it is the fragment of a celestial planisphere, preserved in the British Museum, whereon may be read: "Month of araḫshamna, star of the scorpion" [*araḫ*]

arahšamna kakkab aqrabi (Fox Talbot, *Transact. of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. IV., p. 260).

Not less positive is the astronomical document (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 53, 2, l. 25 and 28), which makes "the star of the goat" preside over the month of tabit, and "the star of the fish (or fishes) of Êa" over the month of addar (this last being also found in *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 53, 2, l. 13). At the same time one is struck by the fact that the symbolic name of the month which corresponds with the sign of Virgo associates it with the goddess Ishtar, to whom it was also consecrated; this suggests the idea that the Zodiacal Virgin was this goddess, who had little of the virgin about her, and other indications seem to show that she was represented in the solar mansion of ulul under her form of "Archeress of the gods"—*qašitti ilani* (Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 122, l. 44).

On another hand, whoever has studied the representations of the Babylonian and Assyrian cylinders knows that, in general, side by side with the religious subjects engraved upon them and forming their most prominent decorations, the background of the stones is covered with symbols of smaller dimension, all of a sidereal and astronomical nature; the sun with its rays, the lunar crescent, the five planetary globes, the seven stars of the Great Bear, the Cross which represents the four cardinal points, the great Celestial Serpent. Joined to these symbols, whose nature and intention cannot be for a moment doubted, are two religious emblems of a very lofty and very comprehensive nature, the symbol of the supreme, divine power, which represents Anu or Asshur, and the image of the κτεὶς, the *mipleçeth* of the Bible (1 Kings xv. 13; 2 Chron. xv. 16); besides these, a certain number of figures, which are all, without exception, those of zodiacal signs and present an almost complete series, as found upon the different monuments.

1. The *Ram* or the *ibex:* Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xvi., No. 1; xvii., No. 6; xxvii., No. 1; xxix., No. 6; lii., No. 6; liv A, No. 12.

2. The *Bull:* Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, Nos. 91, 92, 106; Lajard, pl. xii., No. 17; xxvi., No. 5; xxvii., No. 1; xxviii., No. 4; xxxii., No. 7; liii., No. 3; lvi., No. 8.

3. The *Twins*, represented by *two small virile figures, placed one upon another:* Lajard, pl. xxxix. 5. As we said above, these

Classic antiquity assures us, moreover, that the zodiacal Aquarius is none other than Deucalion-Xisuthros, the Ḫasisatra of the cuneiform documents, the righteous man saved from the flood by the protection of the gods.(1)

figures are more frequently inverted, feet to feet: Cullimore, Nos. 65, 75 and 94; Lajard, pl. xxvi., Nos. 1 and 8; xxvii., No. 5; liv A, No. 6.

4. The *Cancer*, figured like a *crab* or a *lobster:* Lajard, pl. liii., No. 3; lxii., No. 4.

5. The *Lion:* Lajard, pl. xxxviii., No. 4; lii., No. 6; liii., No. 3; lvi., No. 8. It is more usual still to find *the lion devouring the bull*, instead of the simple figure of the animal: Cullimore, No. 94; Lajard, pl. xxvi., No. 1; xxviii., No. 2; xxxiii., No. 5; liii., No. 6.

8. The *Scorpion:* Lajard, pl. xxvii., No. 10; xxxi., No. 2; xxxvii., No. 6; liii., Nos. 3 and 4; lxii., No. 4.

9. The *Archer*, represented in two examples by *an archer drawing a bow:* Lajard, pl. xiii., No. 8; liv A, No. 12. In other examples expressed by *the arrow:* Lajard, pl. xxix., No. 2.

10. The *She-Goat:* Cullimore, No. 107; Lajard, pl. xxviii., No. 5; xxxiv., No. 2; xxxv., No. 3; liii., No. 6. Very frequently the hinder part of the goat's body terminates in the tail of a fish, as in the figure adopted by the Greeks: Cullimore, Nos. 29, 31, 32, 93; Lajard, pl. xvi., No. 3; liv A, No. 1; liv B, No. 7.

11. The *Water Carrier*, represented once by *the god Ramman, crowned with the tiara, pouring out water:* Lajard, pl. xxxv., No. 4; oftener by *a vase whence water flows out:* Cullimore, Nos. 130 and 131; Lajard, pl. xxxv., No. 3; pl. liv B, No. 7.

12. One or two *Fishes:* Cullimore, Nos. 19, 28, 88, 106, 113, 129, 154; Lajard, pl. xvi., No. 5; xvii., No. 6; xxvii., Nos. 2 and 5; xxviii., No. 6; xxix., Nos. 2 and 7; xxxi., No. 5; xxxii., No. 5; xxxv., Nos. 3 and 7; l., No. 2.

Nothing is lacking in the series but the figure of the Virgin, which we have not yet been able to distinguish, and which perhaps would closely resemble the Archer, since Ishtar in this sign is "the Archeress;"—and the sign which is known to us as the "Balance." To this we will recur presently.

(1) Ampel., Lib. Memor., 2.

We find this view confirmed by a more exact knowledge of the Chaldeo-Babylonian calendar,(1) as well as by the symbolic designations of its months, which are connected with the cosmogonic myths, told in the way of episodes, or reproduced by analogous myths in the great heroic epic of the city of Uruk,(2) the protagonist of which is a solar personification, and its twelve songs corresponding to the twelve months of the year, and the twelve signs of the Zodiac,(3) added to which we now possess in its

(1) See table 1, fourth appendix, at the end of this volume.

(2) This epopee is that known to scholars under the designation of "Epopee of *Izdhubar* or *Gisdhubar*," transcribing purely and simply according to their phonetic value the characters composing the ideographic orthography of the name of its hero, in consequence of not knowing the true reading of the name, to which we shall revert in chapter xii. All the fragments, so far as known, of this epopee are collected in George Smith's *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, chapters xi.–xvi. The translation of the lamented English Assyriologist demands a serious revision, which would improve it upon many points of detail; though, on the whole, it is already very satisfactory.

(3) Sir Henry Rawlinson, *Athenæum*, 7th December, 1872; Fr. Lenormant, *Les premières civilisations*, vol. II., pp. 67–81; Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*, p. 27 et seq.

A brief summary of the contents of each of the tablets, in other words, of each of the cantos of the epic, in the mutilated condition in which they have come down to us, will furnish the proof of this affirmation.

Tablet I.—Wanting.

Tablet II.—The beginning is destroyed. In what follows this hiatus, *Izdhubar* sees in a dream the stars fall from the sky. He sends for the Seer Êa-bani, half man and half bull, to interpret his dream.

Tablet III.—Ea-bani, beguiled by Shamḫat and Harimat (grace and persuasion personified), decides to go to Uruk, to the court of

Izdhubar. Festivities to welcome him. Friendship cemented between the two heroes.

Tablet IV.—Izdhubar, following the advice of Êa-bani, sets out to attack the tyrant Ḫumbaba in the cedar forest. Exploits of the two heroes on the journey.

Tablet V.—Defeat and death of Ḫumbaba.

Tablet VI.—Ishtar proposes herself in marriage to *Izdhubar;* he rejects her, while reproaching her with her profligacy. Ishtar, enraged, persuades her father Anu to create a terrible bull, which ravages Uruk. *Izdhubar* slays the monster with the help of Êa-bani.

Tablet VII.—Êa-bani consults trees for an oracle. *Izdhubar* falls sick, and has frightful dreams. He seeks an interpretation of them from Êa-bani, whose divining power forsakes him, so that he cannot explain them. Death of Êa-bani.

Tablet VIII.—Lamentation of *Izdhubar* over the death of Êa-bani. Ill, and alarmed by his visions, he decides to go and seek for healing and the secret of life from Ḫasisatra. Journey of the hero. He meets the two man-scorpions, who guard the rising and setting sun. Visit to the garden of the wonderful fruit-trees, guarded by the nymphs Siduri and Shabit.

Tablet IX.—Dialogue with the two nymphs, asking permission to leave the garden and carry away some fruit. *Izdhubar* meets the boatman Ur-ḫanshâ (or Ur-Bel). He continues his journey by water with the boatman; they end by sailing upon the "waters of death."

Tablet X.—Izdhubar reaches the country of the river-mouths, beyond the "waters of death," where dwells Ḫasisatra, now immortal. He questions him.

Tablet XI.—Ḫasisatra answers him by telling the story of the Deluge. Purification and healing of *Izdhubar.* His return to Uruk.

Tablet XII.—Lament of *Izdhubar* at the tomb of Êa-bani. Marduk, at the command of Êa, recalls the shade of the seer from the "land without return," and causes it to rise to the celestial abodes, amid the gods.

Thus in this epic the man-bull comes upon the stage during the "month of the propitious bull," the month over which Êa presides, who is the creator of this marvellous being, as indicated by his name itself. *Izdhubar* appears in the character of a true

Hercules (on the relationship of this hero with the Greek Hercules and the Tyrian Melqarth, see Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*, p. 27 et seq.; C. W. Mansell, *Gazette archéologique*, 1879, p. 116 et seq.), during the month which is placed under the rule of Adar, the Chaldeo-Assyrian Hercules, and it would seem that the victory of the hero over the lion, which corresponds to the Nemæan, ought to be celebrated in this canto of the poem. *Izdhubar* triumphs over Ḫumbaba during the "month of Fire;" Ḫumbaba's name reminding one of the Combabos of Hierapolis, type of the *qedesh* (Lucian, *De dea Syr.*, 17–27), whose mythologic character resembles Geryon. Elsewhere we have shown (*Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, p. 195 [*Chald. Magic*, pp. 188, 189. Tr.]) that the hero of Uruk is only a form of the god Fire; his victory over a representative of the power of darkness and humidity, is nothing but a variation of the "descent of the god Fire, dissipating the damp mists," which takes place during the month Ab, just as the Lion discomfitting the Bull, the zodiacal sign for this month, is another symbolic expression of the same thing (Fr. Lenormant, *Les premières civilisations*, vol. II., p. 74). Ishtar demands *Izdhubar* in marriage during the "month of the message of Ishtar." The triumph of the hero over the monster raised up against him in consequence of the anger of the despised goddess, is the last effort of his unbroken strength. He falls ill and is deprived of the support of his friend, the man-bull, in the month which follows the autumnal equinox, when the sun begins to decline. Entering then upon his journey westward, he meets two man-scorpions under the sign of the Scorpion; he sails in Ur-ḫanshâ's bark, and reaches the "waters of death" at the winter solstice, toward the end of the month over which Nergal, the god of death, presides. During the "month of the Cavern," he penetrates the hidden retreat whither the gods have carried Ḫasisatra, who tells him the story of the Deluge in the eleventh canto, the eleventh month having the sign of the Water-carrier. In the same canto, *Izdhubar* is cured of his sickness, and returns to Uruk, because in this month (Shabat=January–February) the sun recommences its ascending course. And finally the description of the deceased on his bier, in the valuable monument published by Clermont-Ganneau (in the *Revue archéologique* [vol. XXXVIII., 1879, pl. xxv., opp. p. 337; see also p. 344 et seq. Tr.]), watched over by "the two fishes of Êa," who guard his destiny in the other life, and protect him until the

integrity the list of the gods who presided over the twelve months,(1) and who had been chosen for this purpose, according to the myth connected with each month. With all this help we begin now to comprehend part of the essential features of the cyclic construction by which the twelve months of the year had been made to assimilate with the twelve parts (of 43,200 years each) of the great period of 318,400 years, and the ten antediluvian kings transformed into representatives of ten of the solar mansions.

Conformably to the indications of classic literature, the eleventh month of the year (Shabat=January–February) is "the month of the malediction of rain,"(2) the month during which the story of the deluge is told in the epic of Uruk, and over which presides the god Ramman, "the inundator." If, then, the theory of Movers be correct, the creation of man and the first antediluvian reign must have been connected with the second month of the year and the sign of the bull; and, in fact, we have shown that the second month (Aïr=April–May) is dedicated to the god Êa, under the special title of "Lord of the human species" (*bel tenisêti*). The first month (Nisan=March–April) is "the month of the altar of the

resurrection, indicates that the poem places the apotheosis of Êabani's shade, passing from the subterranean regions to the heaven of the gods, in the month of the Constellation of the two fishes of Êa. All these coincidences, so regular in their sequence, could not be simply fortuitous.

(1) G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 325 et seq.; *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 33, col. iv.

(2) Or "of the malediction, and of the rain."

demiurge,"(1) and two gods preside over it, Anu, the primordial god, analogous to the Greek Uranos, and Bel, to whom is attributed in a special manner the formation of the organized universe. This month, therefore, is that of the Creation,(2) or rather the end of the period of Creation, the Sabbath of the Cosmic

(1) In Accadian *itu bara zaggar*. The last word, *zaggar*, is given as an epithet of the god Bel (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 47, l. 48, *c–d;* comp. pl. 35, l. 55, *c–d*).

(2) Macrobius tells us that according to the Chaldee astrologers (*In Somn. Scipionis*, I., 21, 24), at the very day and hour when the motions of the celestial bodies began, the sign of Aries was in the South, the Moon in Cancer, the Sun in Leo, Mercury in Virgo, Venus in Libra, Mars in Scorpio, Jupiter in Sagittarius, and Saturn in Capricornus. Hence originated the system which played so large a part in the casting of horoscopes (see Genesius, *Commentar über den Jesaia*, vol. III., p. 333 et seq.), and according to which the Zodiac is divided into two halves, solar and lunar, containing the houses of the planets, two for each planet, after the following order:

SOLAR SERIES.		LUNAR SERIES.	
1. Leo	Sun.	12. Cancer	Moon.
2. Virgo	Mercury.	11. Gemini	Mercury.
3. Libra	Venus.	10. Taurus	Venus.
4. Scorpio	Mars.	9. Aries	Mars.
5. Sagittarius	Jupiter.	8. Pisces	Jupiter.
6. Capricornus	Saturn.	7. Aquarius	Saturn.

(Porphyr., *De antr. Nymph.*, 22; Macrob., *In Somn. Scip.*, I., 21, 25.)

It is this system that the coins of Antioch in Syria indicate stamped with the sidereal Ram, and above it the bust of Mars, whose planet has its lunar domicile in this sign (Eckhel, *Doct. num. vet.*, vol. III., p. 284).

Manilius (*Astronom.*, IV., v. 749) tells us, moreover, that the Ram of the Zodiac was the object of a cult all over Syria as in Persia, where it was honored as being the sign under which the world was born.

Week,[1] which includes the duration of the creative

([1]) The Chaldeo-Babylonians most certainly did not know or use the planetary week, to which classic writers attribute an Egyptian origin (Dio. Cass. xxxvii., 17 and 18; comp. Aul. Gel., *Noct. attic.*, III., 10, whose authority is Varro's book *Hebdomades vel De imaginibus*), and of which, besides, no mention is found until a very recent epoch—the first century B. C. (see De Witte, *Gazette archéologique*, 1877, pp. 52–54). The allusions supposed to be made to it in the cuneiform documents (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 57, 6, l. 57–61) have manifestly another meaning. The Chaldæans and Assyrians had instead a hebdomadal series of days of a special character. They divided the month into four equal parts, each composed of seven days, from the first to the 7th, from the 8th to the 14th, from the 15th to the 21st, from the 22d to the 28th. The month containing regularly thirty days, the last two days were excluded from the series of four hebdomads, which began again on the first of the following month, from the 1st to the 7th (see the hemerologies, published in *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 32 and 33, translated by Sayce, *Records of the Past*, vol. VII., pp. 159–168). The days of rest are the Seventh, the Fourteenth, the Twenty-first, and the Twenty-eighth, when "the shepherd of men must not eat meat, must not change the garments of his body; when white robes are not worn, when sacrifice is not offered; when the king must not go out in a chariot, and must not exercise justice wearing the insignia of his power; when the general must not give any commands for the stationing of his troops; finally, when medicines are not to be taken." All these prohibitions point to the fact that the days in question are days of ill omen, like the 19th of the month, to which they equally apply. Thus they are seen to have no connection with the Jewish Hebdomad, George Smith to the contrary notwithstanding (*History of Assurbanipal*, p. 328), which is no more lunar than planetary, and which takes no account of the days of the month, but forms an uninterrupted sequence of seven and seven, the seventh day being always a sabbath, not a day of ill omen, but a day of religious rest and celebration. Nevertheless, it is true that the Assyrians, if not the Babylonians, made use of this arrangement of the week without giving it a planetary character any more than the Jews did,

work, and before which should be reckoned six days of the gods or six epochs of 43,200 years, which would coincide with the tradition brought away by the Jews from the Babylonian Captivity and set forth in the Talmudic treatise, *Rôsh hâshanâh*, to the effect that the creation began with the autumnal equinox.(1) On the same principle that makes the

making it parallel with the lunar hebdomads, which divided the month regularly, and that they recognized the sabbaths. This last fact may be positively inferred from the passage of a fragment of a lexicon of Assyrian synonyms, wherein *yum nuḫ libbi*, "day of repose of the heart, day of joy," is translated *šabattuv*, "sabbath" (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 32, l. 16, *a–b*). Furthermore, the idea of the sacred character of the number 7, whence proceeds the division of the week, dates back to the remotest antiquity among the Chaldeo-Babylonians, and is greatly anterior to the application of the hebdomadal conception to the group of the five planets, with the addition of the Sun and Moon (see Schrader, in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1874, p. 343 et seq.; and in the *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, vol. I., p. 124).

(1) The exactitude of this restoration is attested by several witnesses from classic antiquity. Diodorus of Sicily (II., 31), following Berossus, says that the Babylonians carried back their astronomical observations 473,000 years, or as far as humanity itself. And, in truth, the Chronology of Berossus, as we are acquainted with it in the extracts from his book, reckoned from the beginning of the first mortal reign to the taking of Babylon by the Persians, 472,928 years, thus divided:

Antediluvian period	432,000	years.
Postdiluvian period:		
Reigns of Evêchôos and Chomasbêlos . .	5,100	"
First Chaldæan dynasty	34,080	"
Later dynasties	1,758	"

Cicero (*De Divinat.*, I., 19) and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, VII., 57) substitute for this number of 473,000 the fuller one of 480,000. The second writer adds that, according to Epigenes of Byzantium,

the estimate should be much higher, 720,000 years (Simplicius, in Brandis, *Schol. in Aristot.*, p. 475, col. 2, doubles even this number, making it 1,440,000 years); 72 myriads of years is the translation of the Chaldeo-Babylonian expression of 200 sars of 3,600 years each. Now, if we add to the 120 sars of antediluvian times 10 sars, 5 ners and 3 sosses, which we gather from Berossus to be the length of the first 86 reigns after the deluge, and 72 sars for the first six cosmic days of creation, it follows that during the time of the successors of Alexander, the Chaldæan priesthood must have held that the world was then approaching the middle of the 204th sar, which had gone by since creation first began to develop in the womb of chaos. Those who laid no stress on an exact chronological precision, simply aiming at giving a statement in round numbers, would naturally reckon 200 sars or 480,000 years already passed.

I agree with Oppert (*La Chronologie de la Genèse*, p. 12) that the 5,100 years of Evêchoôs and Chomasbêlos should be added to the 34,080 years attributed to the kings of the first Chaldæan epoch, although the expression in the extract from Alexander Polyhistor, given in the Chronicon of Eusebius, seems rather to indicate, both in the Greek and the Armenian, that they ought to be deducted. It appears to me, in fact, that in accordance with the spirit as well as the fundamental traditions of Chaldaic computation, the length of the postdiluvian period must have been longer than 10 sars, my reasons for this opinion being as follows: As I said above (p. 232), and as I will prove more in detail in the fourteenth chapter, in Berossus' work the first ten generations after the deluge constituted a cyclic and absolutely mythical period, consequently an epoch during which the reigns were still of enormous length, though of far shorter duration than those before the deluge—as may be perceived by the ciphers given for the first two,—and an epoch whose total figure must have formed an exact number of ners or sars. This conceded, it seems most probable that the duration of the first ten postdiluvian reigns reckoned altogether up to 10 sars, on the model of the ten antediluvian reigns reckoning 10 periods of 10 sars each. These 10 sars or 36,000 years would usher in the dawn of the historic or semi-historic periods, which by this arrangement would be found to begin 3,180 years before the coming in of the Elamite dynasty (called the Median by Berossus), which conquered Babylonia and Chaldæa

second month and second sign of the Zodiac corre-

2,286 B. C. This would fix the starting-point of history, properly so called, in the Lower Basin of the Euphrates and Tigris about 5,466 years before our era. From that time to the Elamite conquest 76 reigns would be reckoned in 3,180 years, which would give an aggregate of about 42 years to a reign. But it is probable that the transition from the enormously long and fabulous reigns to those of a normal duration, and authentically historical, was not altogether sudden. There must necessarily have been, after the 10th sar posterior to the Deluge, an intermediary and semi-historic epoch, during which might be traced, as in the genealogies of Genesis, the gradual shortening of human life, from a duration of several thousand years down to that figure of 116 years which Berossus, following Chaldaic doctrines, accepts as the term of the longest possible life in the present age of the world (Censorin., *De die natal.*, 17; comp. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VII., 50).

As for the Assyrians, they had cyclic computations of the same order, peculiar to themselves and differing from those of the Chaldeo-Babylonians. Unfortunately, we know next to nothing about them. We only have the record of King Sharru-Kinu, the conqueror of Samaria, in the inscription of the Bulls of Khorsabad (Oppert, *Inscript. de Dour-Sarkayan*, p. 6, l. 57–59), and in that of the Cylinders (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West Asia*, vol. I., pl. 36, l. 35; Oppert, *Inscript. de Dour-Sarkayan*, p. 16 [l. 45]): "There have been in all 350 preceding kings, who exercised dominion over Assyria before me, and derived their royal authority from Bel," *CCCL ina menuti malki labiruti ša ellamua belut Aššur ebu u va iltanapparu ba'lat Bel.* According to authentic history, there were 60 reigns in about ten centuries from Bel-pashqi, the first who bore the title of King in Assyria, to Sharru-Kinu. The anterior epoch, that of the pontiffs of Asshur, did not last longer than four or five centuries, consequently could only be reckoned as including 25 or 30 reigns. Therefore, of the 360 kings mentioned by the founder of Khorsabad, at least 260 are fabulous. Unfortunately he does not inform us what length of time they are supposed to fill. Nevertheless, the figure 350 is most noteworthy, with its undoubted cyclic coloring, which connects it with the combinations of series of round and astronomic numbers

spond to the first king or the first man, the third sign is that of the Twins, and this is the sign of the third month (Sivan=May–June), which, as we think, we have proved to correspond with the legend of the fratricide and the foundation of the first town, fixed in the Bible for the second generation of men. The fifth month of the year is the "month of fire," the fifth sign that of the Lion, which personifies the fiery principle, and the fourth of the antediluvian kings is called Ammenôn in Berossus, Ḫammanu in the indigenous documents, "the burning, the fiery." After stating these facts, could the following be regarded as simply the result of a fortuitous coincidence? The ninth sign of the Zodiac is Sagittarius, the protector of the ninth month of the Chaldeo-Babylonian year is Nergal, the armed and warlike god *par excellence;* the Semitic name for this month (November–December) is *Kisiliv*, evidently derived from the name of the constellation of *Kesîl*, or "the strong, arrogant man," which is several times spoken of in the Bible.(1) In accordance with the cyclic system,

(1) *Amos* v., 8; *Job* ix. 9 and xxxviii. 31; *Isaiah* (xiii. 10) uses the expression "the kesîls" to designate the great constellations of the heavens.

Most of the rabbinical commentators and authors of the ancient versions have interpreted *Kesîl* to mean Orion. But our observation on the origin of the name of the month *Kisiliv* ought to convince us that the word means the constellation of this month, which is the Archer; and this rendering agrees very well with the manner in which *Kesîl* is always opposed to *Kîmâh*, the vernal group of the Pleiades, denoting it as a catasterism of the end of the autumn or the beginning of winter.

In a communication which I owe to the obliging friendliness of Mr. Sayce, it is stated that a fragment of a celestial planisphere

which we are reconstructing, the ninth month and ninth sign should correspond with the eighth of the antediluvian patriarchs, who, in the genealogy of Genesis, receives the name of Methûshelaḥ, "the man armed with the arrow, the archer."

The critics have been impressed—and it could not well be otherwise—by the exact number of 365 years assigned to the life of Ḥanôk, who, at the end of that period, is translated to heaven.(1) Starting with the idea that this figure refers to the days of the solar year, Ewald(2) is determined to prove Ḥanôk to be an ancient deity of the renewal of the year. A part of the opinion of this illustrious exegete, however, should be treated with considerable reserve on this point. With the Hebrews the year was exclusively lunar, and reckoned 354 days; the Chaldeo-Babylonians assigned to it 360 days,(3) without the five supplementary days, which the Egyptians added to the twelve months of thirty days.(4) The number 365,

among the recent Assyrian acquisitions of the British Museum, settles the fact that the Chaldeo-Assyrians called Orion Dumuzi or Tammuz.

(1) Genesis v., 23 and 24.

(2) *Geschichte des Volkes Israël*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 355 et seq. [3d Ed., I., p. 380 et seq.; Eng. Trans., I., p. 265 et seq. Tr.]

(3) "Twelve months in the year, 6 sosses of its days, the number is mentioned," *šanešrit arḫi ša šatti iḫit šalšati šuši yumiša minat izzakaru* (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 52, 3, rev., l. 37).

(4) Besides the plain text which we have just quoted, we have other proofs for the determination of this number of 360 days in the Chaldeo-Babylonian year:

1° There is not a single month for which we cannot find the

which coincides with that of the days of the year, in

date for every day to the 30th, inclusive, in the historic inscriptions, though there is not a single instance of a 31st day.

2° There is no reference anywhere to supplementary days, either in the dates of the inscriptions and contracts, or in the astrological or astronomical documents.

3° We have two records of observations of the Vernal Equinox (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia,* vol. III., pl. 51, Nos. 1 and 2), found together, traced by the same hand, and evidently made almost at the same time; the day of the Equinox is fixed in the one instance on the 6th of Nisan, in the other on the 15th, a circumstance which indicates a mean error of five days between the civil and the true year, with which the equinox should have occurred regularly upon the 1st Nisan.

4° The astrological tablets which give the augural signification of the eclipses of the Sun and Moon, acknowledge that they may occur on any day of the month (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia,* vol. III., pl. 56, 1, and pl. 60), which proves that the year was not a lunar one. I was far too hasty (in my *Essai de Commentaire des fragments de Bérose,* p. 200 et seq.) in concluding in favor of a lunar year of 354 days, offering alternately full and incomplete months, since we have two mentions of lunar eclipses, one on the 14th Nisan (*Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia,* vol. II., pl. 39, 5, l. 43 [*g–h*]), the other on the 15th of a month which is not named (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia,* vol. III., pl. 51, 7), and a report made to the king, unluckily without date (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia,* vol. III., pl. 51, 9), in which the astrologer speaks of having observed the heavens from the 27th to the 30th of the month Sivan, expecting an eclipse of the Sun, which did not occur, but that he determined the new moon on the 1st of Dûz.

Thus we at once do away with the hypothesis of the Chaldeo-Babylonian lunar year, which was sustained by Fréret (*Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscr.,* vol. XVI., p. 205 et seq.) and by Ideler (*Handbuch der Chronologie,* vol. I., p. 205 et seq.), and the hypothesis which Letronne defends in the *Journal des Savants,* for 1839 [see especially p. 590 et seq., p. 651 et seq. Tr.], according to which the Chaldæans had adopted a year of 365 days, corrected by an intercalation of a day every four years, making a calendar which would have served as a model for those of Denys and Geminus.

an Egyptian or Egypto-Hebraic tradition, assumes quite a different aspect, when the tradition is essentially Hebraio-Chaldæan. Besides, in order that Ḥanôk may be placed at the beginning of a new year in the calendar system of Genesis, which makes the year start afresh with the autumnal equinox, Âdâm must correspond with the sign of the Ram, and not with that of the Bull; consequently, Aquarius would no longer be associated with the Deluge.(1) Thus it is not with the number of days in the year that the life of Hanôk coincides, but with the days of the astronomical revolutions of the sun, which the Chaldæans reckoned at first as 365 days, but later, their knowledge of the sidereal motions having advanced, as $364\frac{1}{4}$ days,(2) and with which they harmonized their civil year of 360 days, the only one they ever employed, by means of a cycle of intercalation.(3) However, it is impossible to over-

(1) It may be remarked, however, that this last objection could be overcome by placing Ḥanôk before Yered, just as the Qaînite Ḥanôk precedes 'Irâd.

(2) Ideler, *Ueber die Sternkunde der Chaldæer*, in the *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, for 1814, Hist.-Phil. Classe, p. 217; *Handbuch der Chronol.*, vol. I., p. 207.

Some have erroneously supposed (Oppert, *Commentaire de la grande Inscription de Khorsabad*, p. 176; Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire des fragments de Bérose*, p. 191 et seq.) that in the cuneiform texts the ideographic expression, *MU. AN. NA*, "year of heaven," designated the solar tropic year, as distinguished from the civil year. This expression is a simple synonym of *MU* =*šattu*, and indicates nothing more than the common year.

(3) We know positively that the Chaldeo-Babylonians added at frequent intervals a thirteenth month of thirty days to the end of the year, analogous to the *veadar* of the Jews, and called *maqru ša*

addari, "incident to addar" (Norris, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 50; Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2d Ed., p. 70, No. 3). At first it was believed that this frequent intercalation had for its object the correction of the inexactitudes of the lunar year, and should be referred to an eight-year cycle analogous to that which Cleostratus of Tenedos introduced among the Greeks (Hincks, *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. XXIV., p. 21 et seq.; Fr. Lenormant, *Essai sur un document mathématique Chaldéen*, p. 34; *Essai de Commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*, p. 212). But this idea is no longer tenable. On the contrary, now that we know the Chaldæan year to have been 360 days long, we are perfectly aware that the intercalation of the *maqru ša addari* became necessary every six years to bring it into agreement with the solar revolution, which reckoned 365. As Sayce has correctly perceived (*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. III., p. 160), we have here the key to the Chaldæan cycle of 12 years, to which Censorinus refers (*De die natal.*, 18). If the computation of 12 years, with two intercalary months, was preferred to six with a single month, it must have been because the character of a celestial apocatastasis was attributed to it, for Censorinus says that, subsequently to its renewal, atmospheric changes, abundant harvests, famines and sicknesses, recurred in the same order. Now, every twelfth year had an essentially apocatastatic character, since not only did it bring the solar year into accord with the civil year, but one of Jupiter's revolutions was then completed (12 years in length), and also the sixth revolution of Mars (2 years), from the beginning of the cycle. But at the end of a certain period it was evident that the revolution of the Sun should be reckoned at 365¼ instead of 365 days; that consequently the intercalation of a new month of 30 days became indispensable at the end of 120 years or two sosses, and that likewise each 120th year was marked by an apocatastasis even more important than that of the 12th year, since Saturn then returned to the same point in the heavens after four revolutions (of 30 years each), Jupiter after 10, and Mars after 60. Hence the periodic return of years when not one only, but two months were intercalated, the *maqru ša addari*, after addar, and, after ulul, an *ululu šanû*, "second ulul" (as in the table of the motions of Venus in *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 63), which we positively know to have been of 30 days, since we possess a hemer-

ology of it (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 32 and 33). But over and above all this there came, at intervals far apart, years like that of which we find the astrological prognostications in *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 56, 5, when three months were intercalated, a *nisannu šanû*, "second nisan," an *ululu sanû*, "second ulul," and a *maqru ša addari*. This year of 15 months, with its triple intercalation, cannot be understood without admitting a superior cycle, the multiple of those of 12 and 120 years, in which, at the last twelve-year of the last cycle of 120 years, the intercalation of the sixth year was systematically omitted, in order to introduce three supplementary months together into the 12th year, for some religious and astronomical reason, which we are unable to explain; so, instead of an exact knowledge, such as we have in regard to the periods of 12 and 120 years, we must here rest satisfied with a hypothesis, though I hold that there are serious reasons for thinking that this great cycle constituted a ner of 600 years, embracing five periods of 120 years and fifty of 12 years. It is, in fact, evident that all these periods of astronomic intercalation must necessarily have conformed to the preëxistent notion of the system of numeration by sosses, ners, and sars. Now, we know positively that the cycle of 600 years, the ner, was looked upon as a "great" apocatastatic "year" (Josep., *Antiq. Jud.*, I., 3, 9), for not only did the 600th year bring about an accordance between the civil and the tropic year of 365¼ days, the end of the 20th revolution of Saturn since the beginning of the ner, the 50th of Jupiter and the 300th of Mars, but it was almost exactly coterminous with 7421 lunations (Bailly, *Histoire de l'Astronomie ancienne*, p. 66 et seq.; Bunsen, *Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltsgeschichte*, vol. IV., p. 312 [Eng. Trans., III., p. 447 et seq. Tr.]).

In the Assyrian Eponym Canon, for the year of Çil-Ishtar, 788 B. C. (or 834 according to the system peculiar to Oppert), we find a mention of a cycle *karru* (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 52, l. 30, *d;* Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2d Ed., p. 93, l. 30; Oppert, *La Chronologie Biblique fixée par les éclipses des inscriptions cunéiformes*, p. 18; G. Smith, *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, pp. 44 and 62). The cycle here mentioned is certainly not that of 12 years, nor the soss of 60 years, as Haigh supposed (see George Smith's answer, *The Assyrian Eponymn Canon*, p. 73). In fact, 60 years before, we fall upon the eleventh year of Shalmanu-

look the fact that all the figures relating to the life of Hanôk bear the traces of a symmetrical arrangement, which undoubtedly betrays ideas of symbolism; for he was born when his father Yered was 162 years old (9×6×3); he becomes the father of Methûshelaḥ at 65 years of age (7+6×5), and he lives 300 years longer, until the time when "he is transported to heaven, having pleased God, while the angels of heaven fall to earth in consequence of their transgression."(1) He is, moreover, the seventh of the

ashir II., the eponymate of Ishid-Raman, and this king, who carefully records all the events of each year of his reign, mentioning, for instance, the cyclic festival celebrated by him when he began the second eponymate, after having completed a half soss on the throne, makes no such statement at this date. Equally there is no mention made of recommencing the cycle in 728, the eponymate of Dur-Asshur, nor in 668, eponymate of Mar-la-arme and year of the accession of Asshur-bani-abal, any more than in 714 eponymate of Ishtar-duri, which would mark the beginning of the 2d soss inaugurated after the year of Çil-Ishtar in Oppert's chronological system (the commencement of the first would fall within the interruption of the Canon which this scholar supposes to have occurred between Asshur-nirari and Tuklati-abal-ashar II.). The possibility that the intercalary period of 120 years may be the one in question is thus done away with, as well as the hypothesis of the soss, and consequently the shortest period under consideration in this case must be 600 years, the "great year" of Josephus. We may add that the beginning of a ner at the eponymate of Çil-Ishtar would imply a chronological system, only differing by 122 years from that which we believe may be restored from Berossus, if we place this eponymate in 788, as seems the most probable, and by 146, if we remove it to 834, with Oppert, for, in the first case, by going back 8 ners, we find ourselves at 5588 B. C. (instead of 5466). for the beginning of the period posterior to the first 10 sars after the deluge, while in the second case the date is 5634 B. C.

(1) St. Iren., *Adv. hæres.*, IV., 16, 2.

patriarchs from Âdâm, and the way in which the Epistle of St. Jude dwells upon this peculiarity, referring to a passage in the Apocalyptic and Apocryphal book, which bears the name of Hanôk,(1) shows that the Jewish tradition did not hesitate to give a symbolic interpretation to this circumstance.(2) In the Chaldaic tradition, the reign of the seventh antediluvian king, who corresponded in order with Hanôk, is marked by the last of the divine revelations,(3) and among the divine protectors of the months, the deity of the eighth month, the month associated with the seventh of these primordial monarchs, is "Marduk, herald of the gods," while the month itself is called that "of the opening of the foundation." Now, if the name Hanôk characterized this patriarch as the "Initiator," the "Introducer" *par excellence*, it was, as we have said, in reference to the spiritual life; he is a type of righteousness, of purity of life, and prophetic sanctity. Hence originate all the legends which Judaism has grouped about his name;(4) hence the coloring of the local traditions of Iconion in Lycaonia, where he was known under the name of Annacos, and represented as a prophet.(5) Ḥanôk, who, as we are told, was

(1) Compare Jud. *Epist.*, 14 and 15, with Henoch, I., 9; St. Jerome, *Catal. scriptor. eccles.*, s. v.; *In Tit.*, I., p. 708 [*De Viris Illustr.* 833. Tr.].

(2) Comp. S. Augustine, *Contr. Faust.*, XII., 14.

(3) Beros., *Fragm.* 9, 10 and 11 of my edition; see the second appendix at the end of the present volume.

(4) See above, p. 227, note 8.

(5) Steph. Byz., v. Ἰκόνιον; Suid., v. Ναννακός.

deified like Shêth,(1) thus happens, in the essential features of his physiognomy, to bear a remarkable resemblance to the Babylonian Marduk, "the herald of the gods," the special revealer, the common mediator between Êa, master of supreme wisdom, and men,(2) he whose planet (Jupiter) watches over the maintenance of justice in the world, and in that character receives the appellation *Çedeq* from the Jews; finally, "he who walks before Êa,"(3) just as Ḥanôk "walked with God."(4) But Marduk was originally a solar personification, and has always retained something of that character;(5) his name is simply a Semitic corruption of the Accadian Amar-utuki, signifying "sun-brilliance;"(6) the solar number of 365 years is thus specially appropriate to him, and I am impressed with the idea that when the Hebrews first attributed this length of life to Ḥanôk, they borrowed it from a foreign computation, where it was founded

(1) Suid., v. Σήθ.

(2) On the analogy between Marduk or the Accadian Silig-mulukhi, who is identified with him, and the archangel Çraosha, "the saint and the strong one," in the most ancient texts of the Zoroastrian religion, and especially with Mithra, as he was represented after the times of the Achæmenides, see Fr. Lenormant, *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, p. 201. [*Chald. Magic*, p. 195. Tr.]

(3) "I am he who walks before Êa," a hymn makes him say; . . . "I am the oldest son of Êa, his messenger," *alik maḫri ša Êa anaku— . . . ablu rištî ša Êa abal šiprišu anaku* (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 30, 3, rev., l. 42–45).

(4) The expression "walk before God" is used in the Pentateuch as synonymous with "walking with God" (Genes. xvii. 1).

(5) Fr. Lenormant, *Les dieux de Babylone et de l'Assyrie*, p. 25.

(6) Fr. Lenormant, *La langue primitive de la Chaldée*, p. 369.

upon the assimilation of the seventh patriarch to the protecting divinity of Babylon.

We should now state that, while, on the one hand, Marduk is a god who is supposed to have reigned on the earth, and in Babylon, where his tomb was shown ;(1) on the other hand, he is the last of the personifications of the Sun, found in the cycle of the gods assigned to the months. And the succession of these personifications of the Sun in the course of the calendar is essentially significant; it expresses the principal phases of its revolution, its alternations of waxing and waning. In the first place, in the month of Dûz, at the time of the summer solstice, he was "Adar the warrior," or "the Sun of the South, the Sun of Noon," who, like Adar-Malik, corresponds to the Moloch of Phœnicia and Palestine; the implacable Summer Sun, who, at the hour of noon, when the intensity of his flame reaches its culminating point, devours the productions of the earth, and who can be appeased only by human victims; he it is who, at the beginning of this month Dûz, slays Dumuzi (Tammuz-Adonis), the young and gracious Sun of the Spring.(2) Three months later, in Tashrit, at the autumnal equinox, he becomes Shamash, "the supreme and equitable judge of heaven and earth," "the director," "the law which enforces the obe-

(1) W. Baudissin, in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (Schürer), 1876, p. 75; Fr. Lenormant, *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, p. 139 [*Chald. Magic*, p. 132. Tr.].

(2) Τὸ ἔαρ ὑπὸ τοῦ θέρους ἀναιρεῖται (Laurent. Lyd., *De mens.*, iv., 44, p. 212, ed. Rœther).

dience of the lands;"(1) the Sun of the Equinoxes dividing equally the day and the night, exercising his power with justice and moderation. Marduk succeeds him in the month of Araḫ-shamna, already ruled by the hostile power of the sign Scorpio, the month during which each day beholds the energy of the luminous orb diminish, and makes it descend one step toward its annual decline. Marduk, adversary of the demons, is thus the Sun, still combatting the advance of the principle of darkness and winter, but at last succumbing in the struggle. He was chosen to preside over the eighth month (October-November), as being the one of the solar gods represented by Mythology as suffering periodic death(2) each day at the evening hour, when, like the Greek Hercules, he ascends the sunset pyre,(3) and each year at the beginning of the winter season. Nergal, too, the god of death, whose name in Accadian meant originally "the ruler of the tomb," *ne-urugal*,(4) is the god who takes his place, succeeding to his rule in the month of *Kisiliv*,

(1) *Kittuv qaśrit uzni śa matâti* (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 28, 1, l. 28).

(2) Fr. Lenormant, *Les dieux de Babylone et de l'Assyrie*, p. 25; *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, p. 139 [*Chald. Magic*, p. 132. Tr.].

(3) The ascension of Ḥanôk into heaven has already been compared with that of Hercules, who ascended into the celestial abodes from the pyre of Mount Œta (Ruperti in *Henke's Magazin*, vol. VI., p. 194 et seq.).

(4) Fried. Delitzsch, in *G. Smith's Chaldæische Genesis*, p. 275 et seq.—See the titles of this god in *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 67, l. 69–77, *c–d*.

"month of the thick clouds;" Accadian, *itu gan-ganna*,(1) the month ending with the winter solstice, this being the very epoch of the annual death of the Sun.(2) This sequence of events, this continuous

(1) In order to satisfy oneself as to the signification of this symbolical Accadian name of the month of Kisiliv, it will be necessary to refer to *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 67, l. 43 and 44, *c–d*, where, among the titles of the god Ramman, we read:

Accad. *ana gan* = Assyr. *ša upe* "(god) of the light clouds;"

Accad. *ana gangan* = Assyr. *ša urpiti* "(god) of the thick clouds."

(2) The day of the winter solstice, day of the periodic death of the Sun, is immediately followed by his resurrection, and his setting forth on his ascendant course. This explains, in the Dionysiac worship of Phocis, the simultaneous occurrence of the nocturnal ceremony performed by the *Hosioi* at the tomb of the god in the temple of Delphi, and the orgiastic festival when the women on the mountains awakened with their cries Licnites, or the new-born Dionysos, asleep in the mystic winnowing fan, which serves him for cradle (Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.*, 35). The symbolical Accadian name of the month which immediately follows the winter solstice, Tebit, *itu abba uddu*, "the month of the cave (or adyton) of the (Sun) rising," undoubtedly contained an allusion to this. To understand the meaning of it, it is enough for all intents and purposes to recall the rites of the festival in honor of the new birth of the young Sun, as celebrated by the Sarraceni, according to St. Epiphanius (*ap.* Schol. Gregor Bodley., p. 43; comp. Lobeck, *Aglaopham.*, p. 1227), when at midnight they entered the subterranean sanctuary, whence the priest presently came forth crying: "The virgin hath brought forth; the light is about to begin to grow again." This ceremony took place each year on the 25th December, the day of the *Natalis Solis Invicti*, in the oriental worship of the Sun, engrafted at Rome in the third century (Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, 1st Ed., p. 756), the day of the festival of the "Awakening of Melqarth," ἔγερσις Ἡρακλέους, at Tyre (Joseph., *Antiq. Jud.*, VIII., 5, 3; comp. *Contr. Apion.*, I., 18), the day likewise for celebrating the great Persian fes-

tival of Mithra (Hammer, in the *Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 1818, I., p. 107; see especially Windischmann's dissertation, *Mithra, ein Beitrag zur Mythengeschichte des Orients*, Leipzig, 1857), when he was born of a stone in the depths of a dark grotto (S. Justin., *Contr. Tryphon.*, 70; comp. Eubul. *ap.* Porphyr., *De Antr. Nymph.*, 6). We know that it was felt to be expedient to uproot these essentially popular festivals by substituting for them a festival applicable to the new religion, and therefore the heads of the Church in the West fixed upon the 25th day of December, in the beginning of the fourth century, for the celebration of the birth of Christ, the exact anniversary being unknown (see the notes of P. Petavius on the works of the Emperor Julian, p. 87). The Christ was to them, in a spiritual sense, the new Sun, *Sol novus*, whose material birth the pagans celebrated on the day when its orb recommenced its heavenly ascension (see Creuzer-Guigniaut, *Religions de l'antiquité*, vol. I., p. 364).

The sign corresponding to the month of the new birth of the Sun in the depths of its cave has Capricorn for its zodiacal sign, which, as we observed above, is represented on the Assyrian cylinders under the figure of a she-goat with the tail of a fish. This zodiacal monster, so say the classic writers, is Ægipan, son of Pan, and of Æga, the goat-nurse of Jupiter (Hygin., *Poet. Astron.*, II., 28), or Pan himself, son of Ægipan and of Æga (Eratosthen., *Catasterism.*, 27; Theo. *ad* Arat., *Phænomen.*, v. 283), who assumed this hybrid shape when the gods took the appearances of animals in order to escape from Typhon (Hygin., *Fab.*, 196; *Poet. Astron.*, II., 28; Schol. *ad* Germanic. Caes., p. 69, ed. Buhle; comp. Ch. Lenormant, *Nouvelle galerie mythologique*, p. 32). But according to others it is the goat herself that nourished Jupiter (Schol. *ad* Germanic., l. c.), which agrees with the engraved stones that represent Æga as a woman holding a trident and a dolphin, seated upon a goat with the tail of a fish, with Pan close beside her (*Impronte gemmarie dell' Instituto Archeologico*, cent. IV., Nos. 11 and 12), and with the arrangement of the rustic calendar in the Farnese collection, which places the sign Capricorn under the empire of a goddess, Juno. This authorizes us in comparing the zodiacal goat with the animal of the same species, which, in innumerable myths of oriental origin, figures as nurse to the young solar god in the grotto where he is concealed in infancy. It is Æga or Amalthea in the Cretan fable of the infancy of Zeus

(Preller, *Griech. Mythol.*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 102 et seq.), which is quite permeated with the Phœnician element; it is the goat Amalthea, which in the Libyan fable nourishes Dionysos Ammonius (see the bas-relief in the *Musée Napoléon*, vol. II., pl. xxix.; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmæler der alten Kunst*, vol. II., pl. xxxv., No. 411), who was one of the forms of the divine son in the Carthaginian Triad (J. Derenbourg, *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1874, pp. 231–236; Philippe Berger, *Gazette archéologique*, 1876, p. 124; *Journal Asiatique*, Août–Septembre, 1876, p. 264: Fr. Lenormant, *Gazette archéologique*, 1878, p. 167), the goat which, on the priestly head-band of silver, discovered near Batnah (*Gazette archéologique*, 1879, pl. xxi.), figures among the most important symbols of Tanith, divine mother in this Triad, so that Diodorus of Sicily (III., 73; comp. 69) conceives the pair Ba'al-Ḥammôn and Tanith to be Ammon and Amalthea, parents of the Libyan Dionysos. And although a male Ægipan is most apt to appear in the Greek Zodiac instead of this nursing goat, the clue for such a substitution is furnished us by the Phrygian legend of Attys, in which the young solar god is fed with the milk of a *he-goat* (Pausan., VII., 17, 5; Arnob. Adv. gent., V., 6) instead of the milk of a she-goat (see Fr. Lenormant, *Monographie de la Voie Sacrée Éleusinienne*, vol. I., p. 368).

Now the skin of the she-goat which nourished Zeus became the Ægis of the god (Eratosthen., *Catasterism.*, 13; Hygin., *Poet. Astron.*, II., 13; Serv. *ad* Virg. *Æneid.*, VIII , v. 354), the Ægis on which fish-scales frequently replace the goat-hair (Ch. Lenormant, *Nouv. gal. Mythol.*, p. 31), the symbol of tempests (Ch. Lenormant, *Nouv. gal. Mythol.*, p. 30; Gerhard, *Griech. Mythol.*, § 202, 1; Preller, *Griech. Mythol.*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 94; Welcker, *Griech. Gœtterlehre*, vol. I., p. 167), and when the fish's tail gives the goat a direct connection with the damp element, the signification becomes still more marked. The infant god nourished by the she-goat in a cave is thus the new Sun, born again after the winter solstice, increasing gradually in strength, hidden by the fogs and storms of the "month of thick clouds." And in fact all the prognostications of the astrologic tablets in cuneiform writing agree in demonstrating to us that in Chaldea, where these conceptions had their origin, the month of Tebit was particularly cloudy and tempestuous.

To the tempests of the Zodiacal Goat succeed the diluvian rains

retrogression, is reflected in the construction of the genealogy of the antediluvian patriarchs of the line of Shêth, at least so far as we can judge from the skeletonized condition in which it has come down to us. But the signification undergoes a complete change. What was an expression of the phases of the solar revolution in the cycle of the gods of the months among the Chaldæans, what in their tradition of antediluvian history was a fatalistic and almost wholly physical evolution of the existence of the world, becomes a purely moral decadence of the whole human race, which "corrupts its way" by sin, ceases to listen to the divine precepts, and by the accumulation of errors committed of its free will, excites

of the sign of the Water-Carrier, in the month of Shabat, placed under the auspices of Ramman, the inundater, *raḫiçu*, "he who makes the rain to fall," *mušaznin zunnuv* (*Cuneif Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. I., pl. 55, col. 4, l. 57). Ramman himself was originally a solar god, the Sun, represented as causing and producing rain (Fr. Lenormant, *Les dieux de Babylone et de l'Assyrie*, p. 26; *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, p. 140 [*Chald. Magic*, p. 132. There called "Bin." Tr.]); he is called "the Sun of the South at the height of his course" (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 57, 1. 76, *c–d*), and among the secondary personages who form his cortege we find Niphu-shamshi, "sun-rise," and Nuru-shamshi, "sun-light," besides Barqu, "the lightning," Ish-birqi, "the fire of the thunder," and Taramû, "the muttering of the thunder" (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 66, obv., l. 17–20, *b*). The rains of Shabat, which renew the fertility of the earth, and from which the young Sun emerges with increased strength, become a symbol of the cosmogonic deluge, which renewed the face of the earth, and restored perverted humanity; in the heroic epopee of Uruk they are represented by the waters into which *Izdhubar* (?), the fiery and solar hero, plunges, in order to be healed of his leprosy, and recover his health, his brilliancy, and his power.

the anger of God, drawing upon itself the terrible punishment of the Deluge. The evolution passes into the spiritual order and becomes an occasion of the most sublime teaching. The symbolical dress remains the same, but instead of embodying, as among the Chaldæans, naturalistic myths, it becomes the figurative garb of truths of the moral order, disengaged from all gross intermixture with the physical order. The inspired writers here, as in all the first part of *Genesis*, have given the first example of the precept which was subsequently formulated by St. Basil: they have taken the golden vessels of the Gentiles to use in the worship of the true God.

Thus Ḥanôk, like that Marduk some features of whose physiognomy he has retained, ceases to represent the Sun, still struggling against the progress of the power of winter, and finally succumbing in the strife, he appears as a righteous man, who, alone of his generation, "walked with God," whose piety and sanctity contrast with the corruption that already prevails among his contemporaries, even of the chosen line. Moreover, he remains on the earth a shorter time than any other one of the Shêthite patriarchs, for God translates him out of a world unworthy of him.(1) After his disappearance, corruption reigns undisputed on the earth, and hastens the visitation of divine vengeance. And the signification of the last two names in the genealogy of the descendants of Shêth, before righteousness and piety again appear in Nôaḥ, the names of the son and grandson of Ḥanôk,

(1) *Wisdom*, iv., 10; comp. *Sirach* xliv. 16; *Hebr.* xi. 5.

Methûshelaḥ and Lemek, express only ideas of violence analogous to those suggested by the names of the descendants of Qaîn. It is at this point that in the accursed race the "man of God" (Methûshâêl) appears as the fellow to "the man with the arrow" (Methûshelaḥ), or "the murdering man,"(1) recorded in the line of the blessed son. This last contrast seems to trench upon the respective characteristics of the other portions of the genealogies, and suggests the idea of the Shêthites having become so perverted as to have sunk morally below the Qaînites themselves.(2)

I will not farther extend these observations, which have already occupied too much space. Our knowledge is still too imperfect to allow of a complete restoration of a very complex calendrical fabric, which undoubtedly may be traced back to an ancient date,(3) but which, far from being primitive, bears,

(1) Philo (*De posterit. Caini*, 12 and 13, pp. 231, 233, ed. Mangey) explains Methûshelaḥ, *ἐξαποστολὴ θανάτου*, finding in his first element *maveth* or *môth*, "death," instead of *math*, "man."

(2) The name of Methûshâêl is of peculiar interest from a linguistic point of view, since it is absolutely Assyrian in form, *mutu-sa-ili;* far more Assyrian than Hebrew. Fritz Hommel (*Zwei Jagdinschriften Asurbanibals*, p. 22) does not doubt that it is borrowed from Babylonia and Chaldea, and remarks with justice that the exact preservation of the Assyrian sibilant in the Hebrew ranks this adaptation grammatically in the class of such as were made during what he calls *die altbabylonische Periode*, about 2000 B. C.

(3) The precession of the equinoxes determines with certainty the *terminus post quem* of the possible existence of all this calendrical construction, which is 2450 B. C., the date when the entrance of the Sun into the first point of the sign of the Ram began to

coincide with the vernal equinox (Sayce, *Trans. of the Soc. of Bib. Archæology*, vol. III., p. 237). In fact, the observation of the star *Alpha* of the Ram, called in Accadian *Dil-kar*, "who announces the light," and in Assyrian *Ikû*, astronomically determined the beginning of the year, *riś satti* (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 52, 3, rev., l. 39). And the signs of the Chaldæan Zodiac could not have been named as they were, before this event, since those of Leo and Aquarius at least owe their appellations to the climatic conditions, the first in July and August, the second in December and January, that of Aries being due to the fact that the march of the year began with him. He is, as the saying was in Accadian, the *lu-lim* (the expression passed into the form *lulimu* in the Semitic-Assyrian), meaning the "Leader-Ram" of the flock of stars in the zodiacal belt, just as Saturn, among the planets which are represented as sheep in continual motion (in Accadian *lu-bad*, in Assyrian *bibbu*), is the *lu-lim*, the "Leader-Ram" (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 48, l. 52, *a*), as being the loftiest of all (in Accadian *sak-uš*, in Assyrian *kaivanu*, *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 32, l. 25, *e–f*), the nearest to the heaven of the fixed stars, and also leading all the rest in importance for the augur (Diod. Sic., II., 30). The imagination of the Chaldeo-Babylonians, as of the Western Asiatic peoples in general, saw in the stars a vast flock scattered over the celestial spaces, and each orb which appeared to lead the course of a cluster of other stars was a *lu-lim*, a "Leader-Ram," or chief, for this expression, appertaining to pastoral life, finally became a poetic way of designating a chief or a king (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 31, l. 41, *d–e*).

The period about the second millennium before the Christian era marks a decisive epoch in the intellectual and religious history of Chaldæa and Babylonia. Then it was that, under the auspices of Sharru-Kinu I., a king who came from Agadhê in Northern Babylonia, and of his son, Naram-Shin, was formed the collection of classic, religious, liturgical, astronomical, augural, and other books, which served henceforth as a basis of sacerdotal culture. Then it was that that vast and learned system, at once religious and philosophical, was definitively established, gathering under a great hierarchy all the divinities and all the faiths, at first peculiar to each one of the various elements which had gone to make up the population of the Lower Basin of the Euphrates

on the contrary, the stamp of the refinement of a long sacerdotal culture, to which it would even appear that several deposits of legends artificially combined had contributed.(1) It suffices to have

and Tigris, a system which anciently made the glory of Babylon, and has been compared to the Brahmanism of India (Fr. Lenormant, *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, p. 132 et seq.; 345 et seq. [*Chaldæan Magic*, p. 125 et seq., 327 et seq. Tr.]). Like Brahmanism, that sacerdotal and religious reform in Babylonia was essentially syncretistic, and henceforth Babylon became the classic ground of the spirit of syncretism, which twenty centuries later was destined on this very ground to attain the proportions of a veritable intellectual disease, after new alluvia of Jewish, Hellenistic, and, finally, Christian ideas had been deposited upon the ancient indigenous bottom. It will doubtless occasion some astonishment to find this spirit traced back to so remote a period among the Chaldeo-Babylonians, for a tendency to syncretism is a mark of old age and of decay, which only crops forth at a late stage in the march of the intellectual and religious development of nations. But the conception of a later age is essentially relative, and cannot be used alone to determine an epoch. Twenty centuries before the Christian era, Chaldea, like Egypt, was a land which reckoned the anterior duration of its culture by thousands of years, with its eclipses and renewals, having pushed its speculations to a singularly advanced stage of refinement, and given incontestable evidences of old age It bordered upon the epoch when it was ready to lie immoveable for centuries in the mould of the past, after the fashion of China

(1) So far it seems evident that the symbolic Accadian nomenclature of the months and the choice of their protecting deities must have preceded the nomenclature of the signs of the Zodiac, and served as its point of departure. As to the Semitic nomenclature of the months, which we find to be common to the Assyro-Babylonians, the Arabians, and the Jews of the last epoch, we cannot so far positively determine its existence by cuneiform texts of an earlier date than the twelfth century before our era. Sayce (*Trans. of the Society of Bibl Archæology*, vol. III., p. 237 et

settled the fact of their existence, and determined several points, which enable a partial apprehension of their essential economy.

What was of consequence to us was to show that the Chaldæans had placed the ten antediluvian patriarchs in ten of the solar mansions, and that there is reason to suppose that this fact exercised an influence upon the formation of the list of patriarchs in the Hebrew tradition, as collected and received, primarily by the writer of the Elohist document, later by the final editor of Genesis.

An undoubted Chaldeo-Babylonian influence car-

seq.) has produced arguments of some value to establish the fact that they must have been invented, not by the Babylonians or Assyrians, but more probably by the Aramæans, perhaps by the people of Harrân, which appears in the cuneiform documents as one of the most ancient çentres of astrological culture (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 67, l. 28, *a–b;* see Sayce, *Trans. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology*, vol. III., p. 168). The strongest argument in favor of this point has, however, been overlooked by the learned Oxford Assyriologist. It is derived from the name of the month Tebet, evidently borrowed from the zodiacal she goat, which has this signification in the Aramaic idiom only. It is at least quite certain that in Assyria, parallel to the customary names of the months, and as occasional synonyms, some traces of an entirely different nomenclature can be found of a more decidedly Assyrian type, in which Sivan was called *Kuzallu* and Tebet *tamḫiri* (Fried Delitzsch, *Assgrische Lesestücke*, 2d Ed., p. 70). The earliest known Assyrian inscription on which a king's name may be read, that of Ramman-nirari, son of Pudilu, who reigned during the second half of the fourteenth century B. C. (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 44 and 45), contains an appellation of this series, not identified so far, for the date is that of the month of *Muḫur ilâni*, "gift of the gods." See for further details the fourth appendix at the end of the present volume.

ried this cyclic and calendric conception into the Mazdeism of Iran, there creating a fabric of the same nature, but simpler and with less pretentious numbers, which we find expounded in the thirty-fourth chapter of the *Bundehesh.*(1) The twelve millenniums, which included the existence of the world, ending in the final defeat of the Evil Spirit, and the resurrection of the dead, are each placed under the dominion of one of the zodiacal signs. The creation took place in the Ram, and the first three signs correspond with the first cosmic age of 3000 years, which was reckoned from the creation of the universe to the formation of man. This event transpired at the beginning of the millennium of Cancer, that is to say under the sign corresponding, in the Biblical genealogy, to Enôsh, the second primordial typical man, the repetition of Âdâm, the same sign under whose auspices is placed in the Chaldæan calendar the month of the "gift of the seed," *šu kulga*, meaning the seed or germ of animated beings, for such in Accadian is the special meaning of the word *kul*, the designation of the seed of vegetable matter being *še*. The domination of the three signs, Cancer, Leo, and Virgo, extends over the 3000 years, which Gayômaretan and the typical Bull passed on the earth, shielded from the powers of evil. The entrance upon the scene of the forces of Angrômainyus marks the opening of the millennium of the sign of Libra, which was formerly that of the claws of the Scorpion, and still more anciently that of the first Scorpion.(2) The Spirit of evil in-

(1) See Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I., pp. 502–507.

(2) It is known that at the time of Eudoxius, of Aratos, and

stigates the Scorpion, which strikes the typical Bull dead, and thirty years after succeeds in slaying Gayômaretan; the Chaldæan Epos of the City of Uruk represents its hero, in the canto corresponding to this sign,(1) as attacked by the sickness which compelled him to seek recovery at the hands of Ḫasisatra, in that place whither the gods had transported him to live forever, and at the same time as losing his friend and counsellor, Êa-bani, the man-bull, struck down by the

even when Hipparchus wrote his Greek commentary on that poet, the Greek Zodiac did not as yet include the sign of Libra; the constellation of the Scorpion, which occupies 41° in the heavens, was reckoned as two signs, one formed by the body of the animal, the other by its claws, the latter filling the place subsequently occupied by Libra (Letronne, *Sur l'origine du Zodiaque grec*, p. 20, *extrait du Journal des Savants de* 1839 [see that *Journal*, Sept., 1839, p. 533. Tr.]). This was likewise the case among the Chaldæans, and positive texts speak of the Scorpion as presiding over the eighth month (Fox Talbot in *Trans. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology*, vol. IV., p. 260), and as a double sign (Fr. Lenormant, *Les premières civilisations*, vol. II., p. 68), a statement confirmed by the cylinders, whereon we find two Scorpions, and not one alone, figured at the same time as zodiacal emblems (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. liii., No. 3, and lxii., No. 4). This agrees with the mythologic conception of the two man-scorpions who guard the sunrise and the sunset (G. Smith, *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 248 [Revised Ed., p. 259. Tr.]), an arrangement which must necessarily have resulted in placing one of the two at the equinoctial point of the Ecliptic.

(1) It seems to me incontestable that the fragments of the tablets or songs of the Epopee of Uruk, reckoned by George Smith (*Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, chap. xv.) as the viiith and ixth, should belong to cantos vii. and viii., and that the lamented English Assyriologist made up his xth Tablet of fragments, which in the original belonged to two different tablets or cantos, the ixth and xth. We used this restoration in our analysis of the poem (p. 243, note 4) above.

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poisoned prick of a gad-fly (*utbukku*). In the chronology of the *Bundehesh* the remainder of the millennium, thus initiated, is filled by the birth of Mashya and Mashyâna, by their first descendants and the reign of Yima, formerly being given up entirely to Yima,(1) while he was still regarded as the first man. The millennium of the sign of the Scorpion is occupied with the reign of Azhi-Dahâka, terrestrial personification of the evil principle. That of Sagittarius opens with the defeat of this tyrant by Thraetaona, the armed and fighting hero, and ends with the prophetic mission of Zarathustra. The last three millenniums of Capricornus, Aquarius, and Pisces comprise the yet unfinished period of time posterior to the Revealer of the Law, so that for a Chaldæan of the age of Nabu-kudurri-uçur (Nebuchadnezzar), or a cotemporary of the Seleucides like Berossus, the duration of the mythical post-diluvian ages, and of the authentically historic times following, had not yet exhausted the period of 43,200 years corresponding to the last month of the year and to the last sign of the Zodiac.

We have determined the cyclic character and the origin of the sum total assigned to the age of the human race anterior to the deluge by Chaldee tradition. This total number does not offer itself to us in ten equal parts; in the detailed figures which give the duration of each reign, the reigns are unequal. But it should be remarked that, although an exact mathematical relation between the two orders of numbers be lacking, a certain connection may be proved

(1) *Yesht*, XVII., 30.

between the inequality of the reigns and the inequality of the space occupied in the heavens by the constellations which have given their names to the corresponding solar mansions. The longest reigns coincide with the largest constellations, as follows:

Taurus . .	35° in measurement	—Adôros . . .	10 sars	reign.
Leo . . .	36° "	—Ammenon .	12 "	"
Virgo . .	48° "	—Amegalaros .	18 "	"
Scorpio .	41° "	—Edoreschos .	18 "	"
Aquarius .	39° "	—Xisuthros .	18 "	"

On the other hand, Capricornus, which only occupies 23°, corresponds with the reign, eight sars long, of Obartes; Sagittarius—27°—with the 10 sars long reign of Amempsinos. It is true indeed that the following figures seem to controvert this general rule:

Gemini .	24° in measurement	—Alaparos . .	3 sars	reign.
Cancer . .	19° "	—Amillaros .	13 "	"

But here we may imagine an inversion of numbers between the two reigns, or a faulty division made by some recorders at second hand in the sum total of 16 sars for the two reigns together, a number which accords well enough with the proportion of the other numbers on the list.

We are lacking in too many of the necessary elements for the exact solution of the problem to be able to arrive at any but approximate results.(1)

(1) There is a really serious objection to the conjecture stated above, and we have no desire to weaken its force, namely, that in the astronomic and astrologic tablets, so far known to us, isolated stars are always referred to, several hundreds of these being mentioned, each one designated by an individual name; but there

has never yet been discovered the vestige of a mention of a constellation formed of several stars. Likewise, in collating that which we read in the indigenous documents, and what has been preserved by Diodorus of Sicily (II., 30), on the subject of the manner in which the Chaldees divided the zodiacal belt, it is evident that there is reference to a chief star, giving its name to each sign, and to three others, chosen to act as its attendants (see the third appendix at the end of this volume, *A*). But there is nothing to indicate that a fully developed catasterism was made to correspond with each sign, constructed like those which, in Greek astronomy, are designated by the same names as the signs.

On the other hand, by forming, in the series of antediluvian kings, groups of seasons, to which should be added the figures of the reigns after the following manner, and by admitting besides an interchange of numbers between Alaparos and Amillaros, a construction would be obtained which in certain respects is remarkable:

Adôros,
Alaparos, } 23 sars.

SUMMER SOLSTICE.

Amillaros,
Ammenon,
Amegalaros, } 33 sars.

AUTUMNAL EQUINOX.

Daônos,
Edôreschos,
Amempsinos, } 38 sars.

WINTER SOLSTICE.

Obartes,
Xisuthros, } 26 sars.

Once established thus, this construction seems the reflex of a theory of the inequality, or, as the ancients called it, of the *anomaly* of the Sun, which makes the length of the different seasons unequal, a still more imperfect theory than that of Eudoxius (with which we are acquainted through a papyrus in the Louvre: *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, vol. XVIII., 2d Part, p. 74 et seq.), but resembling it in a common error, the exaggeration of the interval between the autumnal equinox and the winter solstice, considered as the longest season of the year, Hipparchus, on the contrary, subsequently discovering it to be the shortest.

It is probable, in fact it seems certain, that the Biblical numbers for the antediluvian period must have possessed a cyclic character equally with those accepted by the Chaldæans, and those which we find in the Mazdean cosmogony. It would not be possible to accept with any show of reason a chronologic revelation of divine origin, specially the revelation of a chronology the true text of which is unknown to us, which comes handed down to us in a singularly corrupted state, with variations which pass far beyond all ordinary limits in similar cases. The figures in *Genesis* must consequently be considered from a purely human standpoint, like those of any other book, weighed in the same balance of criticism. And, moreover, however remarkable may have been the memory of the ancients, during those ages when they did not as yet possess the art of writing, it is impossible to imagine that they could have preserved so exact a record of the age of the first men(1), at an epoch too when human speech did not even possess a terminology to express so considerable a lapse of time.

We are thus forcibly impelled to refuse all historic character to the figures of longevity ascribed by the

(1) Knobel (*Die Genesis*, 2d Ed., p. 69 [3d Ed., by Dillmann, p. 120. Tr.]) has entirely refuted those writers who have attempted to cut down to proportions humanly probable the lives of the antediluvian patriarchs, by supposing that the term *shânâh*, "year," applies to periods which differ from and are much shorter than the year of twelve lunar months of the Mosaic law, and the year of 360 days of the Babylonians, used in the Elohist narrative of the Deluge (compare *Genesis* vii. 11 and 24 with viii. 4 and 5).

Bible to the antediluvian patriarcns, and simply to regard them as cyclic numbers. But, as Noeldeke[1] has judiciously remarked, these numbers are at the present writing so uncertain that the really scientific study of them is almost impossible. We do not possess a single really ancient manuscript, or one belonging to a family unconnected with the three versions of the canonical Hebrew text, which is followed by the Latin Vulgate, the Greek of the Septuagint, and the Samaritan text. And these three versions differ very materially the one from the other, and in these divergences St. Augustine[2] does not hesitate to recognize, as science has been compelled to do to-day, the trace of artificial and systematic alterations. These alterations, as every one is agreed in admitting, the rigorously orthodox, no less than the rationalistic thinker,[3] were the result of the scruples aroused by the relatively enormous figures of the original text, which, however, never appears to have gone so far as to accept the vast periods of the Chaldæans. Perhaps these primitive figures may have been preserved to us in those which *Genesis*, as we possess it, has recorded as being the total duration of the life of each of the patriarchs, a point upon which the three

(1) *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments*, p. 110.

(2) *De Civ. Dei*, xv., 13, 1.

(3) It is needless to say that I refer here only to scholars, among whom the Church, by the grace of God, claims a goodly number. The number of narrow and half enlightened minds, who consider themselves compelled to defend as a dogma the system of 4004 years from the Creation to the Christian era, is continually on the decrease.

versions are almost exactly agreed,(1) a proof that there has been much less remodeling done here than elsewhere. By adding these together we obtain a total of 8575 years according to the Hebrew text, 8551 according to the Septuagint, which differs by very little (65 years in the case of the Hebrew figures) from the fiftieth part of the number of years adopted by the Chaldæans, or 144 sosses or cycles of 60 years.(2)

(1) See these figures:

	Hebrew.	*Septuagint.*	*Samaritan.*
Âdâm	930	930	930
Shêth	912	912	912
Enôsh	905	905	905
Qênân	910	910	910
Mahalal'êl	895	895	895
Yered	962	962	847
Ḥanôk	365	365	365
Methûshelaḥ	969	969	720
Lemek	777	753	653
Nôaḥ, to the Deluge . .	600	600	600

The agreement is complete between the three versions until we come to Mahalal'êl. It continues to the end between the Hebrew and Septuagint, save for a slight difference in the life of Lemek. The Samaritans systematically curtailed the existences of Yered, Methûshelaḥ and Lemek so as to make them come to an end contemporaneously in their chronological system, immediately before the Deluge.

(2) It is quite a remarkable circumstance that this figure of 8640 years, or 144 sosses, gives another cyclic number in the peculiar system of Chaldeo-Babylonian numeration, 12 periods of 12 sosses of 60 years each, or the 60th part of the totality of the grand revolution of 518,400 years, the result of 12 periods of 12 sars of 60 sosses each. If this figure were that given primitively in the Bible, a cycle must have been regarded as entirely completed between the creation of man and the Deluge, while the system which had prevailed among the Chaldæans regarded the

If, as I should be inclined to admit (an hypothesis (¹) first suggested by Ernest von Bunsen), these figures of the total duration of the life of the first patriarchs, which appear to have been but little altered, and between which the agreement is most complete, give by their addition the primitive number of *Genesis* for the period of the antediluvian age, we shall be obliged to attribute the construction of the genealogy, as it has come down to us, to an early work of curtailment. In the first place, it gives the age at which each one of the patriarchs had the son born to him in whom the line was carried on; after that we have the total length of his life, of which the smaller part is thus reckoned in the succession of time. Thus Âdâm becomes the father of Shêth at the age of 130 years, and lives 800 years after that; Shêth begets Enôsh at 105 years of age, and lives thereafter 815 years; Enôsh begets Qênân at 90, and lives thereafter 815 years; the three generations of Âdâm, Shêth, and Enôsh count only for 325 years instead of 2747,

same phase in the history of the world as having only included 5-6th of a cycle of the order immediately superior. On one hand we have $60 \times 12 \times 12$, on the other $60' \times 12 \times 10$. Otherwise we have not, so far, any certain record of the antiquity of the figures preserved by Berossus, as known in Chaldea; but it is highly probable that with the Chaldæans, as among the Hindus, the cyclic numbers were gradually added to as time went on; that in the construction which we think we have restored with positive accuracy, the use of a period of 8640 years may have preceded that of the period 60 times greater than 518,400 years, becomes a historic possibility. If this was the case, Genesis must have preserved for us the traces of a form of Chaldæan calculation more ancient than that which Berossus put into the Greek during the time of the Seleucides.

(¹) *The Chronology of the Bible,* London, 1874.

and so on. As Philippe Berger has justly observed,(1) "One would suppose that the Israelite, by systematically abridging the length of the patriarchal succession, designedly cut short those endless genealogies which were neither more nor less than cosmogonies like those of Berossus and Sanchoniathon, thus combatting the polytheism of which they were the constant source. We still find at the beginning of the Christian era this struggle against genealogies in the writings of St. Paul, the inheritor in this connection of the prophetic tradition, and the adversary of gnosticism." We may be not far wrong in concluding that about the epoch of the Captivity, when the Hebrews had become familiar with those fabulous periods born of the speculative imagination of the Chaldæans, they grew scrupulous in regard to the figures in their own books, desiring to react against the possible danger of an analogous attraction, and hastened to curtail their primitive chronology in order that it might not stretch out indefinitely, like that of the Gentiles.

However that may be, the divergence between the three versions of the Hebrew, Greek, and Samaritan *Genesis* becomes absolute, when it comes to the partial figures reckoning the existence of each patriarch up to the birth of his eldest son, and to the general figure of their total result. The most ancient system of the three appears undoubtedly to be that preserved in the Hebrew text.(2) It reckons 1656 years from the

(1) Article *Génealogies* in the Protestant *Encyclopédie des sciences rêligieuses.*

(2) On this point see Raschka, *Die Chronologie der Bibel im Einklange mit der Zeitrechnung der Egypter und Assyrier*, a. 2–10.

creation of Âdâm to the Deluge. Oppert, in an exceedingly ingenious, I might almost say too ingenious work,(1) has perforce come to the conclusion that this figure is derived from that of the Chaldæan tradition, as given by Berossus, and that it was managed by making one week stand for five years of the Chaldeo Babylonians. In fact, says the eminent Assyriologist, "the two numbers 432,000 and 1656, divisible by 72, are as 6000 to 23 But 23 years are 8400 days, or 1200 weeks.(2) Thus 6000 years were equivalent to 1200 weeks; thus a lustrum, five years, 60 months (or one soss of months), was equivalent to a Biblical week." This concordance is of the most seductive character, yet on reflection a doubt suggests itself to the mind. These calculations of weeks take, in fact, for their basis the tropic year of 365¼ days,(3) and they would cease to be exact if the lunar year of 354 days were employed, the only year of which a trace is found in the Biblical books, or the Chaldeo-Babylonian year of 360. The first-named would give for 23 years 8142 days or 1163 weeks,(4) and for 1656 years 83,746 weeks;(5) the

(1) *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 1877, p. 237 et seq.; *La Chronologie de la Genèse*, Paris, 1878.

(2) Exactly 8400.57 days or 1200.08 weeks with the true astronomic year, 8400.75 days or 1200.10 weeks with the tropic year of 365¼ days, the only year with which the ancients had become familiar.

(3) The absolutely exact figure for 1656 years would be 86,407 weeks and 5 days. But in a calculation of this kind it would be perfectly natural to reduce it to the round number 86,400.

(4) Exactly 1163 weeks and one day.

(5) Exactly 83,746 weeks and two days.

second for 23 years 8280 days or 1182 weeks,(1) and for 1656 years 85,165 weeks.(2)

But whatever may have been its origin, the reduction of the antediluvian age to 1656 years by means of the process, the use of which has been proved in the Hebrew text of *Genesis*, though leaving the total figures of the patriarchal lives unmodified, has brought about an accumulation of the most curious improbabilities. Âdâm, in consequence, dies only 122 years before the birth of Nôaḥ, and Shêth 10 years previous to the same event, and when Nôaḥ himself dies, Abrâhâm is already 58 years old.(3) The authors of the Alexandrian version, called the Septuagint, desired to find some remedy for the improbability of a chronology which many by that time had begun to accept literally. In order to accomplish this they had recourse to a remodeling of the Hebrew figures, so evident and so systematic that St. Augustine said, even in his time, *nec casum redolet sed industriam*, and he questioned its good faith(4) while attributing the act to a more recent interpolater, out of respect for the memory of the translators and for the legend which represented them as miraculously inspired.(5) As the great Bishop of

(1) Exactly 1182 weeks and six days.

(2) Exactly 85,165 weeks and five days.

(3) As to Shêm, the figures of the Hebrew text make him die in the time of Ya'aqôb, thirty-five years after the death of Abrâhâm.

(4) *De civit. Dei*, xv., 13, 1–3.

(5) *Nam Septuaginta interpretes, laudabiliter celebratos viros, non potuisse mentiri. . . . Credibilius ergo quis dixerit, cum primum de bibliotheca Ptolemaei describi ita coeperunt, tunc aliquid tale fieri*

Hippo has perceived, the process here employed consists essentially in the addition of 100 years to all the numbers given in the Hebrew text for the existence of each patriarch up to the birth of his first son, save in the case of Methûshelaḥ, whose age was cut short by the figure of 20 years, and of Lemek, to whose years but six were added. In this wise they reached the number of 2242 years (1) for the total duration of the antediluvian epoch, which may be reasonably considered as the result of a premeditated idea. In fact, as Abbé Vigouroux (2) was the first to

potuisse in codice uno, scilicet primitus inde descripto, unde jam latius emanaret, ubi potuit quidem accidere etiam scriptoris error.

(1) If the Seventy sought to avoid certain improbable statements of the Hebrew figures, they fell, in their turn, into a much stranger impossibility. According to their numbers, Methûshelaḥ must have survived the date of the Deluge by fourteen years, from which it is not, however, stated that he escaped. Hence the correction to be seen in certain manuscripts, of which St. Augustine speaks (*De civit. Dei,* xv., 13, 3; cf. *Quaest. in Heptateuch.*, I., 2), which was adopted by Julius Africanus and by St. Epiphanius (*Adv. hæres.*, I., 4), which restores to Methûshelaḥ the Hebrew figure 187 years, instead of 167, giving thus a total of 2262. The Jewish chronologer Demetrius, who wrote under Ptolemy Philopater (Clem. Alex. Stromat., I., 21), accepted almost the same result, 2264 years (Euseb., *Præpar. evangel.*, IX., 21, sub fin.); but we no longer possess his detailed figures. Flavius Josephus, in his *Jewish Antiquities*, has adopted the numbers of the Septuagint as far as Yered in combination with those of the Hebrew text for Ḥanôk, Methûshelaḥ and Lemek, obtaining thus a total of 2156 years, almost the same as Clemens Alexandrinus (Stromat., I., 21, 23), who gives the figure of 2148 years, without, however, stating the manner of its division among the different patriarchs.

(2) *La Bible et les découvertes modernes en Palestine, en Égypte et en Assyrie,* 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 212 et seq.

perceive, the sum total of the antedilu-
vian period
"120 sars, fo by a passage of Suidas :(1)
ans, make 222 reckoning of the Chaldæ-
tains 222 (corre 20) years, for the sar con-
years and six mon onths, equivalent to 18
is here assimilated riod to which the sar
return of the lunar ec ly the cycle of the
being equivalent to 18 r synodic months
11 days 7 hours and 43 365¼ days, plus
of which is unanimously the discovery
the Chaldæans ;(2) and the fo antiquity to
appears is quite as evidently statement of
only by using the Jewish year or for it is perfectly evi-
in question is found to correspo
days (+19 hours and 43 minutes, 213
bers with 18½ years. Multiplied um-
ber of sars accepted by Chaldæan um-
Berossus made familiar, this round h
gives 2220 years; but should the exac
cycle of 223 synodic months be multi
of 2232 lunar years of 354 days (+170 d
hours) is obtained. The idea of substituting
sars of 3600 years an erudite astronomic
known to be of Chaldæan origin, shows an amo
subtlety which bears the unmistakable mark o
Alexandrian mind. It is true that there alway
mains the difference of ten or twenty years betw
ne

(1) At the word σάροι.

(2) Ptolem., *Almagest.*, IV. [cap. 2], p. 215, ed. Halma; Gemin., *Elem. Astron.*, 15, p. 62, ed. Petav.; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, II., 10; see Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, vol. I., p. 206.

the result of this multiplication by her of the cycle of the return of the lunar eclipses, a 10ne total figure given by the Septuagint version, texte antediluvian period, according to the more birth recise definition of the number to be multiplah, w is just here that we recognize that industr years. astutia, with which St. Augustine reproach adde authors of the figures of the Greek version 2242 addition of 20 or of 10 years constitutes ab iluvia ght alteration in number which was req ed as the work of dressing up the computati Abbé V may be allowed to use so ordinary *e uno, scilicet* n order to conceal the fact of adoptio *potuit quidem a* tile source, namely, Chaldee vell say with the great doctor

(1) In the Seventy sour ments of the Hebrew figu arch, *astutius factum est ut illa* stranger impossibility. *ia.*[1] A sentence of Flavius Joshelah must have sur reover, how much stress the Jews years, from which it i pon the idea of a connection between the correction to l Augustine speak ly long lives ascribed to the antediluvian *tateuch.*, I., 2), chs and the cyclic and astronomic periods. St. Epiphanius t only," he says, "because of their virtue the Hebrew fi permitted them to live so long, but also in 2262. The Ptolemy erest of astrology and geometry, of which they almost the inventors, for they would never have been 21, sub o establish an exact prognostication if they had vius Jo of the ived at least 600 years, the term of the revolu- Hebr of the great year."[2]

a tot If the numbers of the Septuagint version offer us (Str how systematic prolongation of those of the Hebrew

(1) St. Augustine, *De civit. Dei*, XV., 13, 3.

(2) *Antiq. Jud.*, I., 3, 9.

text, the numbers of the Samaritan edition, on the contrary, all show a curtailment. From the time of St. Jerome the best Samaritan manuscripts gave exactly the same figures as the Hebrew version;(1) but those which finally preponderated in the Samaritan Bible existed already in other manuscripts, from which Eusebius cites them.(2) They cut off 100 years from the life of Yered before the birth of his son Ḥanôk, 120 years from Methûshelaḥ's existence,(3) and 129 from Lemek's. Owing to these suppressions, the total duration of the antediluvian period is 1307 years. Here again the origin of the artificial chronological combination, by means of which the curtailment was effected, is perfectly evident; but the generating element is no longer drawn from foreign sources. It is absolutely Jewish, and is the cycle of the Sabbatical years. In fact, accepting the figure of 1307 years as the correct one from the Creation to the Deluge, the birth of Arphakshad, that son of Shêm from whom the Hebrews were descended, two years after the Deluge,(4) falls precisely within the 187th Jubilee year after the creation of the first man. Furthermore, since the Samaritan version reckons 1017 years from the Deluge to the calling of Abrâhâm,(5) this last event coincides

(1) St. Jerome, *Quaest. in Genes.*, 5, 25.

(2) *Chron. Armen.*, I., 16, 11.

(3) Or just 100 years of the number attributed to him by the Septuagint.

(4) Genesis xi. 10.

(5) 942 years from the Deluge to the birth of Abrâhâm; see Raschka, *Die Chronologie der Bibel*, p. 11 et seq.

with the 145th Sabbatic year after the birth of Arphakshad, the 332d from the creation of Âdâm. The Jews likewise, in fixing the computation of the Era of the World, which they adopted during the Middle Ages, selected the figures of the Samaritan text for the period before the Deluge in preference to those contained in their own Biblical text.(1)

It may be perceived that the cyclic computations, on which were based those alterations in consequence of which the figures of the Septuagint version and of the Samaritan rendering were derived from the older figures of the Hebrew text, had in view the total duration of the antediluvian age. As far as the details are concerned, the additions or retrenchments in the numbers of this or that patriarch were undoubtedly made after a purely arbitrary fashion, as to which should be selected for the purpose. It is quite probable that it was equally the case in the first work of abridgement of the original numbers in the "Book of the Generations of Âdâm," whence were taken the figures of the Hebrew text of *Genesis*, as we possess them.

There must have been, moreover, certain artificial combinations of numbers, the purpose of which we are not in a condition to decipher, but the existence of which is manifestly implied by the figures connected with Ḥanôk. At this point, however, we stumble against an absolutely unknown matter. So far we know nothing whatever of the subtle speculations, altogether strange and complex, on the value of

(1) Raschka, p. 333.

numbers, which were so widely developed among the Chaldeo-Babylonians, and had irradiated over the larger part of Asia Minor from the Babylonian focus, and which at a later date were carried to Rome by the astrological *Chaldœi*, direct, though degenerate, disciples of the doctrines of the ancient Chaldæan priesthood, at the period when Horace(1) dissuaded Leuconoë from consulting Babylonian numbers, *nec babylonios tentaris numeros.* Among the very numerous cuneiform documents which Rassam collected for the British Museum, as fruits of his last mission to Assyria and Babylon, there are several tablets entirely filled with numbers of this description, with indications of the meaning connected with them. There is reason to hope that when they are published and have become the objects of scientific study, a corner at least of the veil which still enshrouds this side of the culture of ancient Asia may be lifted. However, we have so far no possible reason for imagining any combinations based upon Chaldæan figures as handed down to us in the fragments of Berossus, except in the artificial reductions of the ancient sum total of the Shêthite genealogy; and even then it is only in the total substituted by the Septuagint for the total of the Hebrew text that there may be seen unquestionably a systematic curtailing of the figures accepted by the Chaldæans as their antediluvian period, a curtailing obtained without altering the numeral factors in the multiplication, but by substituting as unit of time a notably shorter measure. In the matter of

(1) *Od.*, I., 11, v. 2.

the ancient number, which I think may be discovered by adding the full figures of the lives of the ten patriarchs, and also as regards the establishing of these partial numbers, the critics are obliged to admit the possibility of two hypotheses: either the numeral speculations peculiar to the Hebrews, or personally to the sacred writers, called by Nœldeke(1) "an exact chronology which rests no more upon historic than mythic tradition, but results in reality from the computations of the narrator;" or else an external idea, borrowed from some one beside the Chaldeo-Babylonians, possibly some neighbor nation of the Hebrews. The 365 years of the life of Ḥanôk do not appear in any form in Chaldæan tradition; nevertheless, it is difficult not to believe that the record came from a nation which assimilated the seventh antediluvian patriarch with a solar personification. The primitive Thôledôth of the Phœnicians, of which we have received only an imperfect notion through the mutilated fragments which have come down to us under the name of Sanchoniathon—fragments in which we have, however, been able to trace numerous points of contact with the genealogies of *Genesis* and with the Chaldæan tradition—likewise ascribe to the first ancestors of men lives of prodigious length, and use cyclic numbers to measure the duration of the primordial ages. Josephus(2) testifies to the fact, calling to witness those Greek writers who had specially treated the antiquities of Phœnicia. He says, after attempting to prove the necessity for the

(1) *Kritische Geschichte des Alten Testaments*, p. 11.

(2) *Antiq. Jud.*, I., 3, 9.

first men having lived longer than the "great year" of 600 years, "I have the testimony of all those among the Greeks and Romans who wrote on antiquities. For Manetho, who composed the annals of Egypt; Berossus, who collected the Chaldæan traditions; Môchos, Hestiaios, and also Hieronymus the Egyptian, the authors of Phœnician histories, are fully in accord with what I say." Unfortunately it did not enter into the plan of Josephus to explain the primitive Phœnician chronology as given by the writers to whom he refers. It merely appears from what he says that the numbers for the dynasties of the gods, the demigods and the heroes were of the same nature as those of Berossus and Manetho. For here also we find a series of enormous cyclic figures, unrolling their periods before the ushering in of historic times, properly so called. These figures of the mythic Egyptian chronology are but imperfectly known to us, so far, too imperfectly in fact to warrant us in making any satisfactory statement as to the principle of their construction;(1) those of Manetho even having come down to us in an uncertain and greatly altered condition; those of the Turin papyrus are destroyed; the only ones on which we can reckon with any confidence are those which

(1) In his book, entitled *Manetho und die Hundssternperiode* (Berlin, 1845), Boeckh has constructed some ingenious theories, though resting upon too insecure a base, to explain cyclically Manetho's numbers. The labors of Bunsen (*Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, Hamburg and Gotha, 1845–1857 [Eng. Trans., London, 1848–1867. Tr.]), and Lepsius (*Chronologie der Ægypter*, Berlin, 1849), have added some farther elements to the question, but are far from furnishing a certain solution to it.

were cut in the walls of the Temple of Edfu,(1) during the epoch of the Ptolemies. We shall be obliged to await some new discovery, such as a royal canon similar to that of Turin, but in good condition, before we can venture to undertake a serious investigation of the principle of the cyclic periods with which the annals of Egypt were made to begin. It is not necessary that we should even glance at this very obscure question any further. The principle of mythical Egyptian chronology was certainly quite different from that of the Chaldæan chronology;(2) and it had no influence whatever upon the numbers of the Bible, no more indeed than the even more immense cyclic periods of the Hindus. Especially will we not venture to embark upon the impossible, even puerile, attempt which has beguiled some modern scholars, and before this led Panadorus into such curious theories, to bring down these mythic chronologies to proportions within the range of probability, trying to find history in them, or at the least trace back to a common starting point the mythic chronologies of Egypt and Chaldæa.

At the conclusion of the remarks we have quoted, Josephus adds: "Hesiod, Hecatæus, Hellanicos, Acousilaos, as well as Ephorus and Nicolas (of Damascus), every one, relate that the men of antiquity

(1) Ed. Naville, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus, recueillis dans le temple d'Edfou*, Geneva, 1870.

(2) The cyclic computations of the Chaldæans are based upon the scale of sosses, ners and sars, of 60, 600 and 3600 years; those of the Egyptians on the Sothiac period of 1460 years. This last was never known or used in Chaldæa.

lived 1000 years." The mention of Hesiod is evidently an allusion to what he says in *Works and Days* (v. 129, 130), about the men of the silver age remaining for 100 years with their mothers in a state of childhood. Besides this, the theory accepted by Hesiod, to which we have already referred in our second chapter, concerning the four ages of the world deteriorating as one succeeded the other, would necessarily suggest the idea of a shortening of human life with each age, as we find it expressed in the Laws of Manu(1), wherein this decrease is represented by the proportion of 4, 3, 2, 1. The other references to the archeologists of Greece apply to works which no longer exist; Eusebius(2) and Syncellus(3) also refer to them. They evidently treat of narratives(4) like those of the Arcadians, who, according to Ephorus,(5) made some of their ancient mythic kings, whom they called προσέληνοι, "before the moon," or rather "anterior to the reckoning of the lunations," live 300 years. Hellanicos, after this manner, related how those Epæans who had been forced by the tyranny of Salmonæus to emigrate from Elis and to settle in Ætolia, lived 200 years during several generations in the heroic ages.(6) Damastes of Sigæum added that one of them had even attained to 300 years.(7) Pliny(8)

(1) I., 68–86.

(2) *Præpar. evangel.*, IX., 13, p. 415.

(3) *Chronograph.*, p. 43.

(4) See Sturz, *Hellanici Lesbii fragmenta*, p. 153 et seq.

(5) *Ap* Censorin., *De die nat.*, 17.

(6) Valer. Maxim., VIII., 13, *ext.*, 6; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VII., 48, 49.

(7) *Ap* Valer. Maxim., *l. c.*

(8) *Hist. Nat.*, *l. c.*

and Valerius Maximus[1] have collected a certain number of analogous examples from all quarters. They do not all belong to Greece, and they prove that the Illyrians, for instance, on the authority of Cornelius Alexander, counted as their ancestor Dathon or Dandon, who lived 500 years without growing old, and that the Thynians, according to the *Periplus* of Xenophon of Lampsacus, headed their royal lists with a prince who lived 600 years, a period eclipsed by the 800 years of his son's existence. All these are so many witnesses to the belief, common to all nations, in an extreme longevity among the earliest ancestors of the human race. But this belief did not take, and never appears to have assumed among the Greeks, a professedly exact chronological form of cyclic numbers designedly linked together. It is well to remark, in this regard, that Pliny and Valerius Maximus, who had access to the same Hellenic authors as Josephus, do not appear to have found any reference to those lives of 1000 years of which the historian of the Jews speaks.

(1) VIII., 13, *ext.*

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHILDREN OF GOD AND THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN.

THE course of our studies leads us now to attempt the examination of that passage which is truly the *Crux interpretum* of the first part of Genesis. This fragment, which, judging from its style and the character of its redaction, undoubtedly emanates from the Jehovist source, has a foreign air, and one quite peculiar to itself. Its mythic coloring is decidedly more pronounced than that of any part of the Pentateuch. Without referring to the formidable grammatical difficulties which render doubtful the explanation of some sentences, where the translations most generally adopted are not always the best,(1) the strange nature of the facts which one is obliged to accept if the story be taken literally, as an actual revealed history, has led many commentators to torture the text, and deprive it of its natural meaning,

(1) The best discussion of the grammatical difficulties is contained in Schrader's *Ueber Sinn und Zusammenhang des Stückes von den Sœhnen Gottes*, in *Studien zur Kritik und Erklærung der Biblischen Urgeschichte* (Zurich, 1863), pp. 61–113. I usually adopt the same interpretations as this scholar, and his exhaustive philological study renders it unnecessary for me to discuss some of these points of detail.

in order to escape from the consequences which that would involve. Hence there is no traditional interpretation for this passage, the constancy and unanimity of which would have any weight with the student of to-day. Tradition has never succeeded in taking a fixed stand here; the predominant interpretation has varied with different epochs, and three principal systems, sustained by authorities of equal weight, but absolutely divergent among themselves, are set forth by Jewish and Christian doctors. For this reason criticism grapples with the expressions of the text untrammeled by any limitations and free to discuss their meanings.

The fundamental difficulty concerns the true meaning of the two expressions, *benê hâelohîm* and *benôth hââdâm*, "the sons of God" and the "daughters of man," as designating those two classes of individuals, a union between whom is represented by the text as impious and unacceptable to God, and one of the most active factors in the general corruption of humanity, the result of which is to draw down upon it the punishment of the Deluge.

The Targumim, that of Onqelôs, as well as that of Pseudo-Jonathan, the Greek version of Symmachus, the Samaritan version, the Arabic translation of Saadiah, as well as that known by the name of *Arabs Erpenii*, understand *benê hâelohîm*, in *Genesis* vi. 2 and 4, as signifying "the children of the princes, the great ones," who would be degraded by contracting marriage with maidens of an inferior rank, to whom they applied the term *benôth hââdâm.* This interpretation is held by Aben-Ezra and Raschi, and

owing to the reputation of these doctors it has become general since mediæval times in the circles of what might be known as orthodox Judaism.(1) It has been adopted by only a very few Christian theologians of modern times, Molina among Catholics, Jean Mercier, Varenius, Selden and Conrad Vorst among Protestants. Quite recently it has been taken up again by Schiller(2) and by Keil.(3) But the overwhelming majority of exegetes, rationalistic or orthodox, of every communion, reject it; and, in fact, it is inadmissible from the philological, as well as from the common-sense, point of view, for simple marriages of unequal conditions would certainly never be characterized by the condemnation which the sacred book visits upon the unions between "the sons of God" and the "daughters of men," and still less could they be described as giving birth to an extraordinary progeny. It is useless to try and justify such an idea by referring to Psalm lxxxii. 6:

"I said: Ye are gods, ye are all the children of the Most High."

This passage has nothing in common with that of

(1) On the principal ancient authorities in favor of this opinion see Keil, *Ueber Genes.* VI., 1–4, in *Zeitschrift für die lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, Rudelbach and Guericke, 1855; Delitzsch, *Commentar über den Genesis*, 3d. Ed., p. 231. [See also 4th Ed., 1872, pp. 190, 191. Tr.]

(2) Werke, vol. X., p. 401. [*Kleine prosaische Schriften*, 6stes Buch, "*Etwas über die erste Menschengesellschaft*," etc. Tr.]

(3) In Rudelbach and Guericke's *Zeitschrift*, 1855, p. 241. Afterwards he abandoned this opinion, *Genesis and Exodus*, p. 80 et seq. [2d Ed., 1866, p. 86 et seq.; Eng. Trans., 1864, p. 127 et seq. Tr.].

Genesis; here *benê 'eliôn* is a predicate, which may even be regarded as implying a comparison with the angels, just as the Targumim understood it; it is not the proper appellation of a special class of creatures like our *benê hâelohîm.* At first sight, one is attracted by the resemblance to Psalm xlix. 3 [Heb.], where the opposition of *benê âdâm* to *benê îsh* certainly refers to the mass of common people and to the higher classes.(1) But this is really nothing more than an application of that opposition, so frequent in the Bible,(2) of the two terms that serve to denote the idea of "man," *âdâm* and *îsh,* employed with the same delicate shade of meaning as the Greek ἄνθρωπος and ἀνήρ.(3) According to this, *âdâm* is the most generic name for man; but it is also true that as opposed to *elohîm, âdâm* only designates humanity in its most general and extended acceptation, and not a special class of men. The dualism of the *benê hâelohîm* and the *benê hââdâm* is quite a different thing from that of the *benê âdâm* and the *benê îsh,* and they cannot in any wise be assimilated.

This interpretation should therefore be absolutely discarded, and even more decidedly the new and altogether fantastic form, under which Ritter and Schumann have tried to reproduce it, which understands by "sons of God," men having extraordinary intellectual gifts "in the image of God."

(1) Cf. Prov. viii. 4.

(2) Is. ii. 9; v., 3; cf. Psalm lxxxii. 7; Is. xxix. 21.—On the other hand, there are other places where *âdâm* and *îsh* are used as synonyms in poetic parallelism: Job. xxxv. 8; Is. xxxi. 8; lii. 14; Mic. v., 6; Psalm lxii. 11; 2 Kings vii. 10.

(3) See Genesius, *Thesaur.*, vol. I., p. 24.

Of all the systems put forth in explanation of the difficult problem which we are investigating, the only one having the merit of representing the most ancient tradition, the tradition inherited by the early Christians from Judaism, would certainly be that which accepts for the *benê hâelohîm* the signification of "angels."

In some of the ancient manuscripts of the Septuagint version, we find in *Genesis* vi. 2 and 4, *ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ*, instead of *υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*,(1) and this would seem to have been undoubtedly the original text of the Alexandrian translators. Besides this, all the most ancient Fathers of the Church, as St. Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, St. Cyprian and Lactantius, as well as, subsequently, St. Ambrose and Sulpicius Severus, reading the Bible in the Greek, and therein finding this expression, regard with wonder the circumstance related in Genesis of the culpable unions between the angels descended upon earth and the daughters of men. This is also the interpretation adopted by Philo,(2) Josephus,(3) and the author of the *Book of Jubilees*,(4) among the Jews, as well as by the Judæo-Christian Theodotion.(5) It is developed under the form of a complete and highly poetic narrative in the

(1) St. Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, XV., 23.

(2) *De gigant.*, 2, p. 358, ed. Mangey.

(3) *Antiq. Jud.*, I., 3, 1.

(4) *Liber Jubilæorum æthiopice*, ed. Dillmann (Kiel, 1859), VII., p. 31. See the translation given by Dillmann in Ewald's *Jahrbücher*, vol. II., p. 248.

(5) St. Jerome says that if Theodotion had written *υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*, it would be *deos intelligens angelos sive sanctos*.

Book of Enoch,(1) one of the most remarkable of the non-canonical Jewish apocalyptic writings. According to this book, the angels to whom God had committed the guardianship of the Earth, the Egregors(2) or Vigilants, allowing themselves to be beguiled by the beauty of the women, fell with them into the sin of fornication, which forever shut them out from heaven, begetting a race of giants 3000 cubits in height, as well as numerous demons.(3) This story of the fall of the Egregors is accepted, and related with further detail by Tertullian,(4) Commodian(5) and Lactantius.(6) And this is not all; at least one positive passage in the New Testament occurs to the Christian

(1) *Liber Henochi æthiopice*, ed. Dillmann (Leipzig, 1851), translation by the same (*Das Buch Henoch*, Leipzig, 1853), VI., VII., XII., 4; XV., 2 et seq.

(2) This is a term employed by Aquila and Symmachus as a translation of the Aramaic *'îr* of Daniel (iv. 13 et seq), applied sometimes to good guardian angels (especially to the archangels in the Syriac Liturgy), sometimes to evil angels and demons (Castel., *Lexic. Syriac*, p. 649; Scaliger, *Ad. Euseb. Chron.*, p. 403; Genesius, *Thesaur.*, vol. II., p. 1006).

(3) In the later Jewish Hagadah this tradition gives rise to a number of episodic histories, like that of the fall of the angels, Shamchozai and 'Azazêl, published by Jellinek in his *Midrasch abchir* The *Bereschith rabbah* (on *Genes.* vi. 2) reckons 'Azazêl as among the worst of the angels corrupted by association with women, and degenerated to demons. It makes him the inventor of excessive finery in attire and of rouge, and associates him with that 'Azazêl who is mentioned in Leviticus xvi. 8. See again Bochart, *Hierozoïcon*, l. II., c. liv., vol. I., p. 652 et seq., London edition, 1663; Sennert, *Dissertatio historico-philologica de gigantibus* (Wittenberg, 1663), chap. iii.

(4) *De cult. femin.*, I., 2; II., 10.

(5) *Instruct.*, III., *Cultus daemonum.*

(6) *Div. instit.*, II., 14; *Testam. patriarch.*, 5.

in support of a like understanding of the text of Genesis. The Epistle of St. Jude, which rests upon the Book of Enoch, and clearly borrows from it in verses 14 and 15, speaks of this sin of the angels, and compares their fornication with the crime of Sodom and Gomorrah (v. 6 and 7), and it is probable that St. Peter alludes to the same story in his second epistle.(1)

But subsequently the Christian doctors were seized with scruples in regard to the consequences which might follow upon the interpretation hitherto accepted in the matter of the "sons of God." It was supposed to contradict the words of Christ, which deny sex to the angels.(2) Dating from the fourth century, this view was generally condemned. St. Cyril of Alexandria(3) declares it absurd to the last degree, ἀτοπώτατον; Theodoret(4) thinks that any one who holds to such an opinion must have lost his senses. Philaster calls it heretical,(5) and St. John Chrysostom blasphemous.(6) Such severe language in reference to an opinion which had been accepted by all the fathers of the first centuries is a little

(1) II., 4. Taken by itself, the verse might be understood to refer, as is often supposed, to the primitive fall of the rebel angels, which is clearly referred to in 1 Tim. iii. 6. But the whole context is rather of a nature to suggest an allusion to *Genesis* vi. 1–4; for the verse in question is immediately followed (v. 5) by a reference to the deluge, which seems to follow as a consequence of the crime of the angels; then comes (v. 6) the same comparison with the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah as in St. Jude.

(2) Matth. xxii. 30; Mark xii. 25; Luke xx. 34–36.

(3) *Contr. Julian.*, 9.

(4) *Quaest. in Genes.*, 47.

(5) *De haeres.*, 108 [ed. Migne; 80, ed. Galland. Tr.].

(6) *Homil. xxii. in Genes.*

surprising, and shows how much Christian opinion had changed regarding the meaning of the passage in *Genesis*.

The most generally accepted interpretation, beginning with the fourth century, supposes the "sons of God" to be the descendants of Shêth, upon whom this title was bestowed as belonging to the chosen race, which until that period was faithful to a worship of truth, and the "daughters of man" to be the women of the line of Qaîn. This view appears for the first time in the romance of the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*, associated with a complete Ebionite system wherein the opposition of the sons of God to the daughters of man is the prototype of the antagonism between Peter and Paul. The first orthodox writer who seems to have accepted it is Julius Africanus, in his *Chronicon*,(1) written during the first half of the third century. But subsequently it became the interpretation which counted for its adherents among the Orientals, St. Ephrem, and the author of the Christian *Book of Adam*;(2) in the Greek Church, Theodoret,(3) St. Cyril,(4) St. John Chrysostom;(5) in the Latin Church, St. Au-

(1) See his text in Routh, *Reliquiæ*, vol. II., p. 127.

(2) Translated by Dillmann in Ewald's *Jahrbücher*, vol. V., pp. 1–144. The author of the *Book of Adam* even makes a polemic against the partisans of the opinion that the *benê hâelohîm* were angels (p. 100).

The whole of the romance which oriental Christians finally wove about this tradition is given in Abu-l-Faradj (*Histor. dynast.*, pp. 7 and 8, ed. Pococke). Cf. again Suidas, v. Σήθ and μιαιγαμίαι; Cedren., *Histor. compend.*, p. 18.

(3) *Quaest. in Genes.*, 47.

(4) *Contr. Julian.*, 9.

(5) *Homil. xxii. in Genes.*

gustine,(1) and St. Jerome. All these are very great authorities, and it is not really surprising that the Catholic theologians of the Middle Ages should have generally followed them, while at the same time Moses Maimonides among the Jews(2) adopted the same interpretation. The reformers of the sixteenth century, Luther, Melancthon and Calvin,(3) ranged their opinions on the same side. And even in our own days it has found conscientious defenders, able and most learned, in Hävernick,(4) Ebrard,(5) Hengstenberg,(6) Kahnis,(7) Bunsen,(8) and specially Keil,(9) who carries on a most lively polemic on this subject against his colleague Kurtz.(10)

Nevertheless, this understanding of the text seems

(1) *De civit. Dei*, xv. 23. (2) *Moré nebouchîm*, i. 14.

(3) Calvin even says: *Vetus illud commentum de angelorum concubitu cum mulieribus sua absurditate abunde refellitur, ac mirum est doctos viros tam crassis et prodigiosis deliriis fuisse olim fascinatos.*

(4) *Einleitung ins Alte Testament*, vol. I., 2d Part, p. 216.

(5) *Christliche Dogmatik*, vol. I., p. 286.

(6) *Die Sœhne Gottes und die Tœchter der Menschen* in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, 1858, Nos. 29 and 35-37; *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, vol. II., p. 328 et seq.

(7) *Luther. Dogmatik*. vol. I., p 246.

(8) *Bibelwerk*, 2d Part, p. 18; *Bibelurkunden*, vol. I., p. 53.

(9) *Die Ehen der Kinder Gottes mit den Tœchtern der Menschen* in Rudelbach and Guericke's *Zeitschrift für die lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 1855, pp. 220–256; *Der Fall der Engel* (Jud. 6 and 2 Pet. ii. 4), in the same review, 1856, pp. 21–37.

(10) The writings of Kurtz on this question are: *Die Ehen der Sœhne Gottes mit den Tœchtern der Menschen*, Berlin, 1857; *Die Sœhne Gottes in* 1 *Mos.* VI., 1–4, *und die sündigenden Engel in* 2 *Pet. ii.* 4–5 *und Jude* 6, 7, Mitau, 1858.

See also Engelhardt, *Die Ehen der Kinder Gottes mit den Tœchtern der Menschen*, in Rudelbach and Guericke's *Zeitschrift*, 1856, pp. 401-412.

to me out of accord with its own expressions, and the intrinsic philological reasons brought to bear against it by the most able Hebraists of our century are to my mind most convincing. Doubtless, Schrader to the contrary notwithstanding,(1) my ideas on this point being absolutely at variance with his, the opposition of the accursed and blessed lives among the descendants of Adâm, the respective families of Qaîn and Shêth, is at the very basis of the Biblical conception of antediluvian times, as I think I have proved in the foregoing chapters. This opposition was, from the beginning of the world, a type of that existing between Yisraël and the profane peoples surrounding it. One of the points which is most insisted upon in the Thôrâh is the maintenance of the absolute race-purity of the chosen people, the prevention of marriages with unbelieving strangers, a constant source of physical and moral corruption. In the system of ideas which prevails throughout the Bible, it would have been natural enough to represent the conjugal alliance between the Shêthites and the Qaînites as being no less displeasing to God than the union between the sons of Yisraël and the daughters of the heathen nations, as having been the chief cause of the irremedial corruption of the hitherto blessed race. And in fact there can be no doubt that verses 1–4 in the sixth chapter of *Genesis*, while treating of a general perversion of humanity, lay special stress

(1) *Studien zur Kritik und Erklærung der biblischen Urgeschichte*, p. 65.

upon that epoch when a corruption as fatal as that of the accursed race attacked the descendants of the righteous son, who, though doubtless subjected equally with the other to the bondage of sin by the fault of the first father of humanity, had preserved a greater degree of purity for several generations, and alone had "begun to invoke by the name of Yahveh."(1) In this way the story told in these verses stands forth as one of the causes which bring on the reprobation of the whole human race, except the righteous Nôaḥ, drawing down upon it the chastisement of the anger of heaven.

It may easily be understood how an interpretation which accords so well with the general spirit of the Pentateuch might have been adopted, especially by those who laid no particular stress upon analysing the letter of the text, word for word, in its Hebrew version. But with this last view of it the interpretation of *benê hâelohîm* and *benôth hââdâm*, as sons of Shêth and daughters of Qaîn, becomes untenable. The defenders of it have, in order to justify it, called to their aid some poetic passages in which the righteous, and especially Yisraël, are represented metaphorically as the children of God. It is in this wise that *Psalm* lxxiii. 15, invoking God, reads:

"If I said: I will speak as they (the wicked) behold, I would betray the race of Thy children."

And *Deuteronomy* xiv. 1 and 2:

"Ye are the children of Yahveh, your God; ye must not cut yourselves, and ye must not shave

(1) *Genesis* iv. 26.

yourselves between the eyes in honor of a dead man.(1)

"For thou art a holy people for Yahveh, thy God; and Yahveh, thy God, hath chosen thee that thou shouldest be a people belonging to Him above all the peoples that are on the face of the earth."

Again, in the Song of Môsheh, *Deuteronomy* xxxii. 4 and 5:

"He is the rock: His work is irreproachable,
for all His ways are righteous;
a faithful God, and without iniquity,
He is just and upright.

"That which has corrupted before Him those who are no longer His children,
is their own unworthiness,
a false and perverse race."

And a little further on (v. 19):

"Yahveh saw it, and was provoked, angered against his sons and his daughters."

Finally, *Psalm* lxxx. [Heb.] 16 thus addresses Yahveh, in speaking of Yisraël:

"Protect that which Thy right hand hath planted, and the son whom Thou hast chosen for Thyself."

But these passages, and some others which might be cited in addition, all belong to a very much later epoch than the revision of the Jehovist document of the Pentateuch, or even of *Genesis*, and the style is absolutely different. The metaphors of lyric poetry are very far removed from an appellation of an exact and specific character, such as the *benê hâelohîm* of our text, above all from such an appel-

(1) Alluding to the pagan rites of mourning for Tammuz-Adonis.

lation used in prose. In the style of simple historic prose, this expression never would have been employed to designate the sons of Shêth, the righteous men, or even Yisraël. If the sacred writer had desired to refer in this instance to the Shêthites or the Qaînites, there were means of indicating them more clearly and with a certainty which would have left no room for doubt, and would have been strenuous in condemnation of mixed marriages, taking the simplest and clearest of all methods, that of naming them directly. It will become manifest to whomsoever reads this text attentively and apart from all prejudice, that in the words *benê hâelohîm* reference is had to strange beings, superior to the race of man. In truth, it is impossible to separate the expression *benôth hââdâm* in verses 2 and 4 from the use of *hââdâm* in verse 1, and *âdâm* in verse 3, where this word incontestably refers to mankind in its broadest acceptation. The *benôth hââdâm* are the daughters of the men, *hââdâm*, "who had begun to multiply upon the earth." And with this *âdâm*, as it goes on to state, the Spirit of God ceased to prevail, "because he is flesh." The man, *âdâm*, thus does not here represent a previously corrupted race, as that of the Qaînites would have been, but a race which so far had been rather pure than otherwise, in which the Spirit of God prevailed before the element of corruption was brought into it by the illicit unions with the *benê hâelohîm*, fallen by reason of the carnal desire engendered in them by the beauty of the daughters of men, and by these very unions.

All this has been perfectly apprehended by the learned and ingenious author of the little book entitled *The Genesis of the Earth and Man*,(1) who herein throws out an argument in favor of the Preadamite theory, started by him afresh, and with a good deal of ability, but which, for all his efforts, remains in absolute contradiction to the spirit as well as the letter of the Bible. To his thinking, the *benôth hââdâm* are the daughters of Adamite humanity, and this humanity becomes corrupted by the union with the *benê hâelohîm*, whom he regards as representatives of Preadamite humanity.(2) And in order that this view of the unhallowed union of two races of men may fit in with the expressions of verse 3, more exactly than is permitted by that interpretation which regards the Shêthites as the *benê hâelohîm*, he is led to the conclusion that these last constitute the wicked and impious race. Recurring to an interpretation which had already been adopted in Aquila's Greek version,(3) he translates these words, not "the sons of God," but "the sons of the gods;" that is, the servants, the worshippers of false gods.(4)

(1) The authorship of this book may, I think, be ascribed to R. Stuart Poole, who appears merely as its editor upon the title-page.

(2) 2d Ed. (London, 1860), pp. 75–84.

(3) Aquila translated *benê hâelohîm* by οἱ παῖδες τῶν θεῶν.

(4) On the use of *bên*, "son," in the sense of "servant," see 2 Kings xvi. 7. Hence such metaphoric expressions as *ben mâveth*, "devoted to death," already under its dominion (1 *Sam.* xx. 31; 2 *Sam.* xii. 5; *Psalm* lxxix. 11; cii. 21), *ben hakkôth*, "condemned to flagellation" (*Deuteron.* xxv. 2). This style of expression has passed into the Greek of the New Testament: υἱὸς γεέννης (*Matth.* xxiii. 15), υἱὸς τῆς ἀπολείας (*John* xvii. 12).

I doubt if any other philologist would consent to follow him on this ground,(1) and it should be remembered that if *elohîm* be here understood as a noun of multitude, instead of being recognized as the name of God in the plural of excellence and majesty, the only acceptable translation of *benê hâelohîm* would be that of the Targumim, "the sons of the mighty ones," for the expression in the plural, *elohîm*, is sometimes made use of in the Bible in speaking of kings(2) or of judges,(3) not, as has often been said, because of any supposed divine attributes in them, but owing to the etymological and primitive sense of the word *elôah,* which means a great, powerful, redoubtable being.(4) This brings us back to what might be called the current interpretation among the Jews, which was refuted above. I have not referred to what the anonymous English scholar has written on the subject which we are now studying in order to commend his personal system, which is less tenable than any other, to my thinking; but simply because he has, perhaps more effectually than any one else, made clear the impossibility of reconciling the expressions of verse 3 with the explanation which has been most prevalent in the Christian world since the fourth century.

The opinions of those who see in the narrative

(1) Still less could we follow Paulus and Ilgen in their supposition that *benê hâelohîm* referred to the Qaînites falsely boasting of a divine origin.

(2) *Psalm* lxxxii. 1 and 6. (3) *Exod.* xxi. 6; xxii. 7 and 8.

(4) This has been well demonstrated by Michel Nicolas, *Études critiques sur la Bible,* p. 115.

of *Genesis* vi. 1–4 the union of two human races, whether Shêthites and Qaînites, or Preadamites and Adamites, seemed lately to have been unexpectedly reinforced by the study of the cuneiform documents. At least they have undertaken to point out something analogous in them. "Sir Henry Rawlinson has already proved,"(1) writes George Smith,(2) "that the Babylonians recognized two principal races of men: the *adamu* or black race, the *šarku* or white race, corresponding probably with the two races mentioned in Genesis under the names of sons of Âdâm and sons of God. It appears incidentally, in our fragments of inscriptions, that it was the race of Âdâm, or black race, which was believed to have fallen through sin; but we have nothing to indicate to us the position of the other race in the Babylonian system of the beginning of things. *Genesis* informs us that, when the world became corrupt, the sons of God contracted marriages with the daughters of Âdâm, and that thus the evil which had begun with the Adamites, was propagated." If this had been quite correct, the hypothesis of the Preadamites would have found a singularly powerful support. But it is nothing more than a phantasmagoria, an illusion, the emptiness of which has been already exposed by Friedrich Delitzsch.(3) It will be necessary

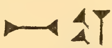
(1) *Report of the Fortieth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Liverpool*, p. 174 [?]; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *Annual Report*, 1869, pp. xxiii.–xxiv.

(2) *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 86. [See Rev. Ed., by Sayce, p. 83. Tr.]

(3) *Smith's Chaldæische Genesis*, pp. 301–304.

to linger over its demonstration, even to the extent of imposing the fatigue of a little Assyrian and Accadian philology upon the patience of the reader, in order to dissipate an error which might be seriously prejudicial, and to prevent it from taking root. For if once a scientific idea which is inexact is spread abroad in the name of accepted authorities, nothing is more difficult than to stamp it out, and it is likely to reappear from time to time long after it has been refuted.

The fancied distinction of two human races, Adamite and non-Adamite, black and white, supposed to have been held by the Babylonians, is a view which rests solely upon one passage of the cuneiform Syllabaries of the Palace Library of Nineveh, as follows:

uš		*dâmu.*
lugud		*šarku.*
adama		*adamatu.*(1)

Conformably to the invariable principle of construction of the three-column Syllabaries of the first class,(2) we have the ideograms to be explained in the central column; in the preceding column their reading in the Accadian or Sumerian, and in the following column their reading in Semitic-Assyrian, which for us, as for the Assyrians of the time of Asshur-bani-abal, explains the writing of the other two columns. The passage which we have just cited

(1) Syllab. A, Nos. 223–225.

(2) See Fr. Lenormant, *Les Syllabaires cunéiformes, édition critique*, p. 8 et seq.

contains, to begin with, a first sign, the ideographic value of which was expressed in Accadian by the word **uš**, in Assyrian by *dâmu*, "blood," the Hebrew *dâm*. This signification is distinctly corroborated by bilingual documents, with the primitive Accadian text accompanied by an interlinear Assyrian translation, in which the ideogram in question, representing the word **uš**, is employed in Accadian to express "the blood," and translated by the Semitic *dâmu*.(1) This is followed by two ideographic compounds, wherein the same sign is successively combined with the two characters which express the idea of "white" and of "black." In the first case, the words corresponding with the signification of the compound, are in Accadian **lugud** and in Assyrian *šarku;* in the second, **adama** in Accadian, and *adamatu* in Assyrian. But the ideographic compounds and words used to read them by, do not in any wise designate "a race of white men" and "a race of black men;" they are expressions for "white blood" and "black blood," or, in other words, "pus" and "blood."(2) *Adamatu* is an Assyrian synonym for *dâmu*, parallel to the Phœnician *edom*, as *dâmu* is to the Hebrew *dâm*, and the Accadian **adama** is nothing more than this word, borrowed by the non-Semitic idiom of Chaldæa. The expression *dâmu u šarku* is common in Assyrian texts, and that,

(1) See, for instance, *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 2, col. 4, l. 31–32: **uš kuku' meš**=*akil dami*, "eaters of blood." And in the l. 23 of the same document, without the Assyrian version, **subi inkuku' meš . . . . uš nagnag' meš**, "they devouring the body, drinking the blood." Cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Études cunéif.*, II., p. 23 et seq.

(2) Fr. Lenormant, *Études cunéiformes*, II., p. 24.

too, in examples where it is clearly impossible to make it mean anything but "blood and pus," "blood and sanies," as, for instance, in that form of malediction of which we have three different copies, in comparing which the exchange of ideographic and phonetic orthography may be proved: "That Gula, the great mother, the great lady, the spouse of the Sun of the South (variant, 'of Adar'), may cause to flow in his body an incurable poison, and that he may emit blood and pus like water!"(1) "During seventeen days," says the king, Asshur-aḫ-idin, in a historic text, in which he narrates his expedition into Arabia-Petræa,(2) "from the frontier of Egypt to Mâkan, and leaving Mâkan over an extent of 20 (?) itinerary(3) kasbu, I descended.(4) This land was bristling as it were with stones and rocks. I spread(5) the blood and the sanies of the enemy as far as the village of Dalat."(6) This is widely removed from the supposed

(1) *Gula ummu gallatu beltu rabitu ḫirat Šamši šûti* (var. *Adari*) *simma la azza ina zumrišu lišabliv va dâma u šarka kî mê lirmug* (var. *lirtammug*), *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. I., pl. 70, col. 4, l. 5–8; vol. III., pl. 41, col. 2, l. 29–31; vol. III., pl. 43, col. 4, l. 15–18. Cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Études cunéif.*, II., p. 50 et seq.

(2) *Transact. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology*, vol. IV., p. 95 et seq.

(3) The *kasbu qaqqar* is a measure of 21,600 cubits or of 11 kilometers, 340 metres, in Oppert's metrologic system, and 22 kilom. 680 metres in Lepsius'.

(4) It is a technical expression, meaning: "I marched toward the South."

(5) Literally, "I cut in pieces."

(6) *Eśra'a yume u sibitti ištu miçir* [*Muçur adi*] *Makannu ultu Mâkan mîšiḫti* [*ešra'a*] *kasbu qaqqar ardi. qaqqaru šuatu kima abni kima çibri îzqutta. dâmu u šarku nakiri aqçi ana al Dalta.*

allusion to the two primordial races corresponding to the "sons of God" and "the sons of man."

It is not less inexact to say that the fragments of the cosmogonic tables attribute the first sin, in a special way, to a certain race of men designated as Adamic or black. In reality, in a fragment to which we have already referred in chapter i.,(1) and which has nothing to do with the tradition of the Fall,(2) in the remains of an invocation to the god Êa, wherein, among other merits, he is celebrated as creator of men,(3) the substantive *admu*, corresponding to the Hebrew *âdâm*, is once used to signify "the man" (rev., l. 16), and "men," meaning the race, are once designated by the expression *amelutu*, "humanity" (obv., l. 15), and again by that of *çalmat qaqqadi* (obv., l. 18). This is very evidently the place where George Smith imagined that a particular black race was spoken of, for the expression signifies literally "blackness of heads," or "black heads." But the lamented English Assyriologist should not have overlooked the fact that this metaphorical expression *çalmat qaqqadi*, which must originally have been confined to poetry, came to be one of those most frequently reproduced in Assyrian texts of every description, even in historic inscriptions; that its meaning is perfectly plain, and that instead of characterizing a special race, it is one of the most common ways of speaking of hu-

(1) P. 56.

(2) This is the text to which George Smith alludes; he was utterly mistaken as to its meaning.

(3) *Trans. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology*, vol. IV., pl. 3 and 4, at page 363; Fried. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2d Ed., pp. 80 and 81.

manity in general.(1) Friedrich Delitzsch(2) explained the origin of it very happily, showing that it had nothing whatever to do with the color of the skin, but was suggested by the idea, which appears also in the Bible, of black hair regarded as a sign of manly strength and of youth.(3) It is true that Smith thought he had found an instance in which *çalmat qaqqadi* seemed to specialize a single race, as distinguished from *sarku*, supposed to designate men who were white. This was in a hymn to Marduk, which really contained nothing of the sort, as may be seen in the reading given below :(4)

"Thine are the heaven and the earth,
thine are together the heaven and the earth,
thine is the charm of life,
thine is the philter of life,
thine is the brilliant enclosure of the bed of the Ocean!

The whole multitude of black-headed men, all living beings, designated by a name, who exist on the face of the earth,

the four regions in their totality,

the archangels of the legions of the heaven and of the earth,

(1) See Oppert, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. II., p. 283; Fried. Delitzsch, *G. Smith's Chaldæische Genesis*, pp. 301–304; Fr. Lenormant, *Études cunéiformes*, pp. 78–80.

(2) *G. Smith's Chaldæische Genesis*, p. 304.

(3) See Franz Delitzsch's *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, XI., 10 (p. 387). [Eng. Trans., 1877, p. 401. Tr.]

(4) *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 29, 1, obv., l. 25–45; Fr. Lenormant, *Études accadiennes*, vol. III., p. 117; cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *G. Smith's Chaldæische Genesis*, p. 302 et seq.

all as many as they be,
(glorify) thee!"(1)

It is the two ideograms which express the idea of the "brilliant enclosure," *rukusu ellu* (of the bed of the Ocean), which Smith looked upon as representing phonetically the word *šarku*, without taking the rest of the verse into consideration at all, besides attributing a value to the second sign which it never possesses as a simple phonetic. Far from signifying race in a special sense, *çalmat qaqqadi* in this text evidently means "mankind," since "all living beings" are subsequently mentioned.

We shall thus have to abandon the search among the Chaldeo-Babylonians, at least so far as their traditions are at present known, for an original distinction between two races of Adamites and Preadamites, one dark and one fair, one guilty and one holy and blessed, something analogous to the Hindu idea in the *Astika-parva* of the *Mahâbhârata*, the antagonism of the descendants of the two daughters of Brahmâ, Kadrû and Vinatâ, an ethnographic myth, investigated by Baron Eckstein, with a boldness of criticism amounting sometimes to temerity, though always keen and sometimes singularly perspicacious.(2) I do not mention the opposition of the

(1) *Šame u irçitiv kuvvu — ema šame u irçitiv kuvvu — šipat balaṭu kuvvu — imat balaṭu kuvvu — rukusu ellu gû apsi kuvvu. — amelutuv niši çalmat qaqqadi — šiknat napišti mala šuma nabâ ina mâti bašâ — kiprat irbitti mala bašâ — Igigi ša kiššat šame u irçitiv — mala ba[šu] — .... kašâ.*

(2) *De quelques légendes brahmaniques qui se rapportent au berceau de l'espèce humaine*, in vol. VI. of the 5th series of the *Journal asiatique* (1855).

Suras or Dêvas and of the Asuras, which Nork[1] compares to the "sons of God" and "the sons of man" in *Genesis*, for these are purely mythological beings, gods, and not representatives of mortal races.

It may thus be seen that we find no light thrown upon the fundamental problem of *Genesis* vi. 1–4, either from the cuneiform documents or from any other external source. Nothing can determine the sense but the study of the text itself, and the comparison of it with other passages of the Bible, where the same expressions may be met with. Now, it happens that the very two designations which have given rise to so many different theories, are not unusual terms in Biblical language. On the contrary, these two expressions are of frequent recurrence in the prose as well as poetry of the Bible, and with a perfectly certain and well-defined meaning, and a peremptory reason would have to be adduced, and it does not happen to exist, in order to fasten upon them, as they stand in the sixth chapter of *Genesis*, a different signification from the accustomed one.

In truth, there is not a shadow of doubt on this point, accepted in all the versions and by all commentators, that *benê hâelohîm* in *Job* i. 6 and ii. 1, *benê elohîm* in *Job* xxxviii. 7, and *benê êlîm* in *Psalm* xxix. 1 and lxxxix. 7, is applied to angels. It is the same with *bar elâhîn* in the Aramaic of *Daniel* iii. 25. As to *benê hââdâm*,[2] with the arti-

(1) *Brammanismus und Rabbanismus*, p. 204 et seq.

(2) 1 *Sam.* xxvi. 19; 1 *Kings* viii. 39; *Psalm* cxlv. 12; *Eccles.* i. 13; ii. 3 and 8; iii. 10 and 18; viii. 11.

cle, or *benê âdâm*(1) without the article, "the sons of man," and not "the sons of Âdâm,"(2) this is one of the most ordinary phrases of the Bible to express "men," just as "man" in the singular is *ben hââdâm* or *ben âdâm*,(3) and this mode of speech passes from the Hebrew into the Greek of the New Testament,(4) where *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* becomes the term appropriated to the designation of Christ from the standpoint of His human nature.(5)

To my mind, therefore, the great majority of modern exegetes, and specially all those who evince the most profound philological knowledge of the Hebrew, have been justified in agreeing to recognize the fact that, as employed in this language, the terms *benê hâelohîm* and *benôth hââdâm* can signify only

(1) *Deuteron.* xxxii. 8; *Psalms* xi. 4; xii. 2 and 9; xiv. 2; xxi. 11, and many other places.

(2) Gesenius, *Thesaur.*, vol. I., p. 25.

(3) *Num.* xxiii. 19; *Psalm* viii. 5; lxxx. 18; cxlvi. 3; *Job* xvi. 21; xxv. 6; xxxv. 8; *Is.* lvi. 2; *Jerem.* xlix. 18; li 43; *Ezek.* ii. 1 and 3; iii. 1, 3, 4 and 10; iv. 16; viii. 5, 6 and 8; xi. 2; xii. 3; xiii. 17; xxi. 11, 19, 24 and 33.

(4) Schleusner, *Lexic. in Nov. Testament*, 4th Ed., vol. II., p. 1189.

(5) Poussines (Possinus), *Spicilegium evangelicum*, § 32; Grotius *ad* Matth. viii., 20; Chr. Cellarius, *De sensu appellationis υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, Program.* xxi., p. 129; J. Guillard, *Specimen questionum in Novum Instrumentum de filio hominis*, Leyden, 1684; I. H. Messerschmidt, *Commentatio philologica de sacra formula et dictione ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, Wittemberg, 1739; G. Less, *Programma de filio hominis*, Göttingen, 1776; G. W. Rullmann, *Programm. über die Benennung Jesu des Menschen Sohn*, Rinteln, 1785; *Versuch über die Stellen im N. T. die vom Sohne Gottes und vom Sohne des Menschen Jesus reden*, in the *Magazin für Religion, Philosophie und Exegese* (Henke's), vol. I., pp. 129–208.

angels and daughters of the earth. Schneckenburger, de Wette, Arnaud, Stier, Dietlein, and Huther, in commenting on *Genesis* vi. 1–4, have thus understood it, and this meaning has also been adopted and defended with irrefragable arguments by the following named more recent writers, Ewald,(1) Hupfeld,(2) Tuch,(3) Bœhmer,(4) Delitzsch,(5) Kurtz,(6) Drechsler,(7) Baumgarten,(8) Von Hofmann,(9) Twesten,(10) Nitzsch,(11) and Eberhard Schrader.(12) We have also thought best to follow it in our translation.

The usual, we might even go so far as to say the invariable, meaning of the principal expressions of the text would thus lead us to that interpretation of the narrative accepted by the Seventy, Philo, Jose-

(1) *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft*, vol. VII., p. 20.

(2) *Die Quellen der Genesis und die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung*, pp. 96, 130, 220: *Die heutige theosophische oder mythologische Theologie und Schrifterklærung*, p. 22 et seq.

(3) *Kommentar über die Genesis*, p. 154 [2d Ed., by Arnold and Merx, p. 121. Tr.].

(4) *Das erste Buch der Thora*, p. 142 et seq.

(5) *Commentar über die Genesis*, 3d Ed., p. 230 et seq. [4th Ed., pp. 190–194. Tr.]

(6) Besides the special dissertations cited above, p. 303, note 10: *Geschichte des Alten Bundes*, vol. I., p. 76. [Eng. Trans., 1859, I., p. 96 et seq. Tr.]

(7) *Einheit der Genesis*, p. 91 et seq.

(8) *Theologisches Commentar z. Pentateuch*, on *Genesis* vi. 1–4.

(9) *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, vol. I., p. 85 et seq.; *Schriftbeweis*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 424 et seq.

(10) *Dogmatik*, vol. II., 1st Part, p. 332.

(11) *System der christl. Lehre*, 5th Ed. (1844), p. 235. [Eng. Trans., 1849, p. 233. Tr.]

(12) *Studien zur Kritik und Erklærung der biblischen Urgeschichte*, p. 69.

phus, and all the Fathers of the Church up to the fourth century, the undoubted reference being to the guilty loves of angels with the daughters of men, whose beauty beguiled them, and to whom "they came in." And of these loves, condemned by God, was born a race of heroes, men superior in strength to the rest of mankind.

I will not touch here upon the theological question raised by St. Augustine,(1) who does not decide upon its solution, and debated by St. Thomas Aquinas,(2) who takes the affirmative side, as to whether purely spiritual beings like angels, or demons, could possibly have assumed such a corporeal shape as to have entered into carnal and fecund relations with women. A problem of this nature does not enter within the scope of our investigation, which is solely historical and critical, any more than does the reality of the existence of the incubi and succubæ, in whom St. Augustine firmly believes(3) and mediæval faith never for an instant wavered.(4) The only thing

(1) *De civit. Dei*, iii. 5; xv. 22 and 23.

(2) *Summa*, Part 1, quaest. 51, art. 3.

(3) *De civit. Dei*, xv. 23.

(4) The doctrine of the mediæval theologians on this point is completely expounded in the fifth book of the *Formicarium seu dialogus ad vitam christianam exemplo conditionum formicæ incitativus* of the famous Dominican Jean Nyder (Paris, 1519, in 4to; Douai, 1602, in 8vo), chap. ix. and x. This fifth book is reproduced at the end of the first volume of the *Malleus maleficarum* of Jacob Sprenger, edition of Lyons, 1620, and the part relating to the incubi and succubæ may be found on pages 517–526.

Heidegger (*Histor. sacr. Patriarch.*, vol. I., p. 289 [ed. Ultraj, 1683]), while admitting that in *Genesis* vi. 1–4 we have the union of the sons of Shêth with the daughters of Qaîn, believes absolutely

which concerns us is the fact that this last doctrine existed in that intellectual centre in the bosom of which the sacred books were composed, and the Bible itself contains more than a suggestion of it. During all the first half of this century, it was a regular scientific fashion to hold that the doctrine of angels and demons among the Hebrews was borrowed from Zoroastrianism during the period of the Captivity, and to make its development an indication of the late date of the books in which it is mentioned. But the aspect of the question is now completely changed, and this theory can no longer be sustained, since we have become familiar with the extent, the richness and the importance of the dualistic demonology, partly of the favorable and protecting kind, partly wicked and inimical, of the Chaldeo-Babylonians. It contains a whole hierarchy of angels and demons, much more numerous and extensive than that of the Zend-Avesta, for it comprises, on the side of light

in the incubi, and accepts the possibility of a race born of the connection between demons and women. As a general thing, during mediæval times and even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the reason of the aversion to the interpretation of the *benê hâelohîm* as angels, was not the impossibility that spiritual beings should make themselves tangible, and in consequence have a physical copulation; but rather the repugnance to admit that so gross a pleasure could have induced beings so perfect as the angels of God to commit sin (this is St. Augustine's chief line of reasoning). Over and above this, the words of Christ are called to witness that angels are sexless, even if it be otherwise with demons with violent carnal passions. It seems that the theory was held at that time, though we find it nowhere distinctly stated, that a sexual condition was a result of the primordial fall of the rebellious spirits, when they passed from the state of angels to that of demons.

and good alone, "three hundred heavenly spirits and six hundred earthly spirits,(1) divided into classes, as are the evil spirits on their side."(2) And this demonology is certainly greatly anterior to that of Zoroastrianism, over which it exerted a strong influence; it may be traced back to the most ancient epochs of Chaldæan civilization, long centuries before that migration which led the Teraḥites forth from this country. There are even strong reasons for believing this to be the remains of an ancient spiritualistic religion, which may have been primitively the religion of the non-Semitic nations of Shumer and Accad, and perhaps held sway in the Lower Basin of the Tigris and Euphrates, prior to the age when the Semitic Pantheism of Babylon began to predominate.(3)

However this may be, the belief in incubi and succubae, the male and female demons of nocturnal impurity, holds a very important place in the demonological ideas of the Chaldeo-Babylonians. The incubus and succuba are called in Accadian *lillal* and *kiel-lillal*, "the one which fetters" and "the concu-

(1) G. Smith, *North British Review*, January, 1870, p. 309 [Am. Ed., p. 163. Tr.]; Fr. Lenormant, *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, p. 131. [*Chald. Magic.*, p. 122. Tr.]

(2) On this hierarchy of evil demons, see Fr. Lenormant, *Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, pp. 23–41 [*Chald. Magic*, pp. 23–38. Tr.].

(3) This is what I have tried to prove in the fourth chapter of my book on *La magie chez les Chaldéens* (Paris, 1874), revised and considerably enlarged in the German translation: *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, Jena, 1878 [and in *Chaldæan Magic*, London, 1877. Tr.].

bine(1) which fetters;" in Assyrian-Semitic, *lilû* and *lilituv*, the male and the female "nocturnal demon."(2) There is still a second variety of female succubus, whose Accadian name *kiel-udda-karra* seems to imply that a union with her might prove fertile,(3) called in Accadian *ardat-lilî*, "the servant," or rather "the concubine of night." In all the enumerations of demons which we find in the formula of deprecatory conjurations, these three fantastic beings are named together;(4) and one of the tables of prognostics suggested by monstrous births, says that in a certain given case "the Lilit will not make her appearance before men."(5)

Yeshaʿyâhu admits the existence of the Lilith, known to the Hebrews as well as the Babylonians, and called by the same name. He says in his prophecy against Edôm: (6)

(1) The Accadian term *kiel* seems to express etymologically the idea of *puella pathica:* Fr. Lenormant, *Études cunéiformes*, II., p. 34.

(2) Fr. Lenormant, *Magie und Wahrsagekunst*, p. 40.

(3) *Kiel-udda-karra* is a composite expression, giving us, first, the word *kiel*, which was just now referred to; second, *udda*, "to go forth," and derivatively "to go forth in birth," employed as substantive to describe a "child, offspring" (Assyrian-Semitic *ilidtu*), and entering into the formation of the compound verb *uatudda* (*uatu-udda*), "to be brought forth, to be born;" third, *karra*, participle of the verb *kar*, "to arrange, to dispose" (Assyrian, *ediru*), "to take, to receive" (Assyrian, *ekimu*).

(4) See among others *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 17, l. 63, *c–d;* vol. IV., pl. 16, 1, l. 19–20; pl. 29, 1, rev., l. 29–30.

(5) *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 65, obv., l. 23; *lilit panisunu la tabsi.*

(6) *Is.* xxxiv. 13 and 14.

"The thorns will grow in its palaces,
brambles and thistles in its fortresses.
It will be the dwelling of jackals,
the den of ostriches.
The cats of the desert will meet the wild dogs there,
and the Se'îr will call thither his companion;
there Lilith will have her dwelling,
and will find her place of rest."

Among the rabbins of the degenerate age of Judaism, Lilith appears as a vampire, a sort of Lamia or unclean thing, carrying off little children in order to put them to death;(1) and is also associated with the *ghoûl* of Arab superstition. We do not find her retaining her early character of succuba, except in those legends in which she is spoken of as united to Adam, thus becoming the mother of numerous demons,(2) in which connection it is said that the man

(1) Buxtorf, *Lexic. rabbin.*, p. 1140; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. II., p. 418 et seq.; Gesenius, *Commentar über den Jesaia*, vol. II., pp. 916–920; A. Levy, in *Zeitschrift d. deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, vol. IX., p. 484 et seq.

It is even made the sovereign of the demons (*Zohar*, I., fol. 170 et seq.; 387), the feminine representative of all evil (*Schabbath*, fol. 151), and finally, by a series of the most bizarre combinations, it comes to be identified in certain legends with the Queen of Shebâ (Bacher, *Lilith Königin von Smargad*, in Frankel & Græetz's *Zeitschrift*, 1870, p. 187 et seq.).

(2) Eisenmenger, vol. I., pp. 165 and 461; vol. II., p. 413 et seq.—Among the sons of Lilith are mentioned Hormîz and Hormîn, that is, Ormuzd (Ahuramazda) and Ahriman (Angrômainyus) of the Parsees: A. Levy, *Zeitschrift des deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, vol. IX., p. 485; Rapoport, *Erech Millin.*, p. 247; Grünbaum, *Zeitschr. d. deutch. Morgenl. Gesells.*, vol. XVI., p. 398.

who sleeps alone in a house falls into the power of the Lilith,(1) or that any man might have the same thing happen to him with her that happened to Adam.(2) The book of Enoch reckons Lilith among the angels, fallen in consequence of their terrestrial loves.(3) Among the Sabæans or Mendaïtes, the angel Sarniel is said to remove from the couches of women in child-bed the Leliotos, who would kill their new-born children.(4) But more frequently these female demons are represented as succubæ, who form part of the cortege of Astro or Namrus, the spirit of impurity.(5) The most curious passage in this connection is that found in the book of Adam,(6) in a declamation against the ascetics and the anchorites: "Then the female Leliotos approach them and sleep with them, that they may receive their seed and become pregnant. Hence are born the Shidê (demons) and the Ḫengê, who throw themselves upon the daughters of men."

Thus, from the union of the female succubæ with men, according to Sabæan belief, are supposed to spring the masculine demons of lasciviousness. These

(1) Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. II., p. 452.

(2) Eisenmenger, vol. II., pp. 424 and 426.

As a match to this idea, the rabbins held that an angel, Layelah, presided over conception: Buxtorf, *Lexic. rabbin.*, p. 1140.

(3) IV., 70. [?]

(4) Fragment of the *Sidra Yahia*, as given in Stæudlin, *Beitræge zur Philosophie und Geschichte der Religions-und Sittenlehre*, vol. III., p. 24; cf. Lorsbach, *Museum für biblische und orientalische Literatur*, vol. I., p. 87.

(5) Norberg, *Cod. Nasar.*, vol II., p. 196; vol. III., p. 158.

(6) *Cod. Nasar.*, vol. I., p. 106.

Ḫengê, whose name signifies "the Jumpers," and who are elsewhere mentioned,(1) always with the same characteristics, are identical with the Se'îrîm, who are associated with the Lilith by Yesha'yâhu, and mentioned again by the same prophet in describing the desolation presented by the ruins of Babylon destroyed: (2)

"The wild cats will make their den there,
the hyenas will fill its houses;
the ostriches will make their dwellings there,
and the Se'îrîm will jump there."

The Se'îrîm, whose name signifies "the hairy ones,"(3) and is likewise applied to he-goats, are creatures whom the orthodox Hebrews regarded as demons, and the Thorah rebukes the Israelites for having sometimes sacrificed to them.(4) They are the Satyrs of Phœnician mythology, and certain scarabæi of Phœnician workmanship represent them under the form given by the Greeks to the half-animal demons among the followers of Dionysos.(5) St.

(1) *Cod. Nasar.*, vol. II., p. 86. (2) *Is.* xiii. 21.

(3) In regard to these fantastic beings, see Bochart, *Hierozoïcon*, l. vi., c. 7; vol. II., p. 828 et seq., London edition, 1663; Gesenius, *Commentar über den Jesaia*, vol. II., p. 465 et seq.; 915; W. Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. I., pp. 136–139.

(4) *Levit.* xvii. 7; cf. 2 *Chron.* xi. 15.

(5) C. W. Mansell, *Gazette archéologique*, 1877, p. 74.

Berossus describes, among the monstrous beings who were found in the neighborhood of Omoroca (Tiamat Um-Uruk), as represented in the paintings of the temple of Bel Marduk at Babylon, "men with the legs and horns of a goat" (fragm. 1 of my edition). On a Babylonian cylinder (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. li., No. 3), a winged goat with a human face is the animal

Jerome,(1) therefore, describes them most exactly in calling them *vel incubones vel Satyros vel sylvestres quosdam homines quos nonnulli Fatuos ficarios vocant.* He ascribes to them the essential character of incubi, as does Moses Maimonides also(2) among the Jews, for according to the belief of ancient superstition the Satyrs actually attacked women,(3) a belief accepted by St. Augustine.(4) Perhaps it is not unworthy of remark that Jamblicus may have located the scene of his romance in Babylonia, since it is permeated with the manners and customs of the country, and in it the young Sinonis is tortured by the libertine persecutions of a phantom under the form of a he-goat.(5) To this day even the people of Hillah imagine that the ruins in their neighborhood are haunted by demons of this description.(6)

In the Greek text of the Book of Tobit, one of the latest, as to date of composition, among the deutero-

which fights with a luminous and celestial deity; on another (Lajard, pl. lvii., No. 1), the same monster is placed opposite a winged sphinx.

(1) *Comment. in Is.* [xiii. 20–22] v., vol. III., p. 111, Martianai's edition.

(2) *More nebouchim*, iii. 46.

(3) See the history related by Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.*, vi. 13.

(4) *De civit. Dei*, xv. 23: *Quoniam creberrima fama est, multique, se expertos, vel ab eis, qui experti essent, de quorum fide dubitandum non est, audisse confirmant, Sylvanos et Faunos, quos vulgo Incubos vocant, improbos saepe exstitisse mulieribus, et earum appetiisse et peregisse concubitum et quosdam daemones quos Dusios Galli nuncupant, hanc assidue immunditiam et tentare et efficere, plures talesque asseverant, ut hoc negare impudentiae videatur.*

(5) *Ap.* Phot. *Biblioth.*, cod. 94, p. 74, ed. Bekker.

(6) Rich, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, vol. III., pp. 143, 144.

canonical writings of the Bible, Sarra, daughter of Raguel, "has already been given to seven husbands, who were all found dead in the nuptial chamber, ... for a demon loves this maid, and he injures whomsoever seeks to approach her." (1) We must accept this as the first version of the book, and not that beautiful lesson of conjugal chastity substituted, in the Latin of St. Jerome,(2) for this conception of a genuine incubus, whether he found this expurgation in the Aramaic text, posterior to the Greek, from which he is said to have translated, or whether he made it on his own authority; for he took great liberties with the letter of this book, which indeed came down to him in a greatly altered condition. The demon lover of the daughter of Raguel is called Asmodeus,(3) and is apparently Ashmedaï or Ashmodaï, the demon of voluptuousness, the prince of the infernal spirits, who plays so conspicuous a part in the conceptions of rabbinical demonology, where he is spoken of as the cause of the fall of King Shelômôh.(4) The treatise *Gittin*(5) even tells how, when he had persuaded the king to leave his palace, Ashmedaï hastened to take possession of the royal harem, this being a new characteristic, which represents him

(1) vi., 13 and 14.

(2) In his 17th verse, chapter vi.; previously, in the 15th verse, corresponding to the 13th of the Greek, he suppresses all the latter part, which describes the love of the demon for Sarra.

(3) iii. 8, in the Greek and the Latin; 17 in the Greek only.

(4) Buxtorf, *Lexic. rabbin.*, p. 237; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. I., pp. 351–361.

(5) Fol. 68, col. 2.

animated with erotic passion. His name constitutes the only instance in which we know certainly that the Jewish demonology borrowed from that of Zoroastrian Iran; for Ashmodaï is undoubtedly a contraction of Aeshmô Daevô.(1) He is the demon Aeshma of the Zend-Avesta,(2) the special adversary of Çraosha,(3) the pre-eminently "wicked,"(4) wicked in soul and wicked in body,(5) with a sinister brilliancy,(6) possessing all knowledge except the art of healing.(7) We should also note the double fact that the oldest mention of Ashmedaï among the Jews, in the Book of Tobit, makes him appear in Media at Rhagæ, and that his name (connected later artificially with the root *shâmad*, "to lose, to devastate") was spelled, as Maury has discriminatingly remarked,(8) so as to suggest the signification of *êsh-Mâdaï*, "the fire of Media."

All the beliefs which we have passed rapidly in review belong to popular superstition. There was nothing of this sort in the Mosaic teaching, as there

(1) Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 138 et seq.; Kohut, *Judische Angelologie*, p. 75 et seq.; Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II., p. 132.

(2) *Yaçna*, lvi. 12; *Vendidâd*, ix. 37; x. 23; xi. 26; see Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II., p. 131.

(3) *Yesht*, xi. 15.

(4) *Yesht*, x. 93.

(5) *Yesht*, x. 97 and 134.

(6) *Yesht*, xix. 95.

(7) *Yaçna*, x. 18.—This is the reason that the angel Raphaël (medicine of God) is sent "to heal" the evil done by Ashmodaï (*Tob.*, iii. 17 in the Greek; iii. 25 in the Latin). Just as in the passage of the *Yaçna*, to which we shall recur, Haoma is contrasted as healer with Aeshma.

(8) *La magie et l'astrologie dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge*, 3d Ed., p. 290.

was among the Chaldæans; religion found no place for them. Therefore they could not be indicated in the Bible except by fugitive allusions, which, nevertheless, suffice to show that these superstitious beliefs existed in the popular conception, and swayed the minds of the nation. In order to understand the allusions of the prophets, it is necessary for us to turn to certain sources, of which some belong to very late epochs. It would be an error of method, did not the comparison with the remains that have come down to us of the original magical books of the Chaldæans justify us in so doing, by demonstrating that the ideas, the exposition of which we have drawn from these recent records, should actually be traced back to a very remote antiquity, having been formulated and widely spread long before the redaction of the Jehovist document incorporated in *Genesis*, indeed, that probably a great number of these conceptions were carried with them by the Teraḫites when they quitted Ûr of the Kasdîm.

We read in the Pehlevi *Bundehesh*(1) that Djem (Yima) had a sister, named Djemak, who was at the same time his wife; this is the primordial pair of Yama and Yamî in the Aryo-Indian tradition. In another part of the same book,(2) we are told that Djem, after his sin, took for wife the sister of a Daeva, or demon, and gave, at the same time, his sister Djemak in marriage to this Daeva, monstrous and accursed unions, from which sprung "the men

(1) Chap. xxxii. [xxxi.] (2) Chap. xxiii.

of the mountains who have tails."[1] Likewise, it is stated, farther on, during the reign of the infernal Dahâk, that from a union of the same kind between a young man and a Pairika (another class of evil spirits), were born the Ethiopians and all men with black skin. Kalisch[2] has compared this with *Genes.* vi. 1–4, and really there is an incontestable analogy between the two narratives. But the absolute isolation which marks the narrative of the *Bundehesh*, not a trace of any analogous record being found either in the Zend-Avesta or in the Epic tradition, as collected by Firdouzi, Ḫamza, and the other writers of the Musselman epoch, is of a nature to inspire great doubts in regard to its character as a genuine Iranian legend. It savors strongly of having been borrowed, if not directly from *Genesis*, at least from the cycle of apocryphal traditions which had enlarged upon its narrative, the most complete exemplification of which we find in the Book of Henoch, so popular for a time throughout the East.

It is worthy of note, too, that the narrative in *Genesis* touching the loves of the "sons of God" and the "daughters of man," bears a totally different character from the repulsive stories of the incubi and succubæ, which we have been compelled to investigate in the foregoing pages. Here are no impure demons, who wantonly attack women, but spirits of light, angels from heaven, who fall a prey to the

(1) In chap. xv. there is another reference to the "man with a tail, and with hair on his body," who inhabits the desert. Doubtless this fable was suggested by monkeys.

(2) *Genesis*, p. 175.

beauty of earthly maidens, and for the sake of that beauty forget their purity, and forsake their celestial abodes, that they may unite with them; and though this be a guilty union, displeasing to God, the superiority of these sons of God to the race of men produces a race of heroes as the fruit of their loves. If this record has its counterpart in the traditions of pagan nations, the legend which comes nearest to it is that complete cycle of myths founded upon the idea that the heroes participating in the divine nature and superior to other men, are sons of the gods, issues of amorous unions between the race of the immortals and that of men.(1) The heroes (ἥρωες), says Plato,(2) are demigods, for they are all born of the love of a god for a mortal woman, or of a goddess for a mortal man (ἐρασθέντες ἢ θεὸς θνητῆς ἢ θνητοὶ θεᾶς); and Herodotus(3) remarks that the Egyptians were the only people among whom this belief did not exist.

At this point we should attach a capital importance to the expressions which, in our passage of *Genesis*, terminate verse 4. There it is said of the children born of the loves of the "sons of God" with the "daughters of man:" *hêmmâh haggibborîm asher mê'ôlâm anshê hasshêm*, "these are the heroes (belonging) to antiquity, men of renown." Josephus(4) and Philo(5) are incorrect in making the expression *gibborîm* stand for an idea of violence, the abuse of

(1) Welcker, *Griechische Gœtterlehre*, vol. III., pp. 240–247.

(2) *Cratyl.*, 33. [xvi., p. 398. Tr.] (3) II., 50.

(4) *Antiq. Jud.*, i. 3, 1; he translates *gibborîm*, ὑβρισταὶ καὶ παντὸς ὑπερόπται καλοῦ.

(5) *De gigant*, [xiii.] p. 270.

force, and revolt against heaven; in fine, an evil conception. The impious character attributed to the race born of the forbidden unions results from the context taken as a whole, and the way in which the Deluge is there represented as a consequence of these acts, not from the appellation which designates them. The sole instance of an unfavorable meaning attributed to the word *gibbôr* in the Bible, conveying the idea of a man abusing his strength, a tyrant, may be found in *Psalm* lii. 3; and even this signification is not necessarily implied by the word, which might perfectly well be translated: "Why dost thou boast thyself of thy wickedness, powerful man?"

Everywhere else, *gibbôr* is used in a good sense. Its primary meaning is "powerful, strong." *Gibbôr ḫaîl* signifies an active man, vigorous in his actions,(1) or powerful by reason of his riches.(2) Oftener still, this expression implies an active, vigorous, indefatigable warrior;(3) for "hero" is the most generally correct translation of the word *gibbôr*. "All Yisrael knoweth that thy father is a hero (*kî gibbôr*)," says Ḫûshaï to Abshâlôm.(4) Alexander the Great is peculiarly the *melek gibbôr*, the "hero-king,"(5) and the lion, the *gibbôr babbehêmâh*, "hero among the animals."(6) *Psalm* xix. 6 says, speaking of the sun:

(1) 1 *Kings* xi. 28; *Nehem* xi. 14.

(2) *Ruth* ii. 1; 1 *Sam.* ix. 1; 2 *Kings* xv. 20.

(3) *Judges* vi. 12; xi. 1; 1 *Sam.* ix. 1; 2 *Kings* v. 1; 1 *Chron.* xii. 28; 2 *Chron.* xiii. 3; xvii. 16;—in the plural: 2 *Kings* xv. 20; xxiv. 14; 1 *Chron.* vii. 5, 11 and 40.

(4) 2 *Sam.* xvii. 10. (5) *Dan.* xi. 3. (6) *Prov.* xxx. 30.

"Like a bridegroom who goeth forth from the nuptial chamber,

he rejoices as a hero to run his course;"

which might be compared, in the first place, to such epithets as "valiant," *idlu*,(1) "valiant hero," *qarradu idluv*,(2) "hero" or "warrior of the universe," *quradu kalama*,(3) which are among the sacred qualifications of Shamash, the Sun-god, in the Assyro-Babylonian documents; secondly, the first part of the verse resembles a bilingual Accadic-Assyrian hymn, addressed to this same god:

"Like to a bridegroom, thou startest forth joyous and triumphant."(4)

"Yahveh is a strong one and a hero (*gibbôr*), Yahveh is a hero in battles."(5) He is "the great God, the hero and the terrible one."(6) He is also sometimes called *êl gibbôr*, literally "the god-hero."(7) The men of David's body-guard, chosen with special care from among the most valiant and faithful of his soldiers, particularly from among those who had fol-

(1) *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 6, col. 1, l. 74–75; col. 2, l. 71; cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Études Cunéiformes*, IV., p. 13.

(2) *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 17, obv., l. 3–4.

(3) *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 33, l. 42, *a*.

(4) *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 19, 2, l. 50–51: *kima muta tazzizzu ḫadû u rîšu.*

(5) *Psalm* xxiv. 8. (6) *Deuteron.* x. 17.

(7) *Is.* x. 21. I do not quote ix. 5 because the meaning of that expression takes its coloring from the belief of the translator; for the Christian who attributes a Messianic significance to prophecy, *êl gibbôr* means here "strong, mighty God;" for the rationalist, it represents a "strong, vigorous, active hero," and the two interpretations are equally justifiable from a philological standpoint.

lowed his fortunes from the beginning, are known in the history of Israel under the name of *gibborê Dâvid*, "the heroes of David," (1) and it would appear that the title of *gibborîm* was their official appellation,(2) more particularly applied to their three commandants.(3) It is thus that in poetic language this term of *gibbôr*, "hero," became descriptive of warriors in general,(4) and officers in particular, as distinguished from simple soldiers.(5) Yesha'yâhu says ironically in this connection:

"Woe to those who are heroes in drinking wine, strong men to mix the intoxicating drink!" (6)

Lastly, the word which we are considering positively designates a legendary hero in *Genesis*, when Nimrod is called *gibbôr bâareç*, "a hero on the earth," (7) *gibbôr-çaîd liphnê Yahveh*, "a hero-hunter before Yahveh." (8)

Moreover, there is a close relationship between the passage on the "sons of God" and "the daughters of men," and the passage relating to Nimrod, both

(1) 1 *Kings* i. 8; 1 *Chron.* xi. 26; xxix. 24.

(2) On this body of *gibborîm*, see Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israël*, 2d Ed., vol. IV., p. 177 et seq. [3d Ed., IV., p. 202 et seq.; Eng. Trans., IV., p. 135. Tr.]

(3) 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 8.

(4) *Psalm* lxxviii. 65; *Is.* xiii. 3; *Jerem.* li. 30.—*ḥiççê gibbôr*, "the arrows of the warrior:" *Psalm* cxx. 4; cxxvii 4; *ḥereb gibbôr*, "the sword of the warrior:" *Zach.* ix. 13.

(5) The distinction in *Is.* iii. 2, and in *Ezek.* xxxix. 20, should be thus understood. By an abuse of this meaning in 1 *Chron.* ix. 26, the *gibbôrê hassha'arîm* are the "chiefs of the porters" of the Temple. In *Ezr.* vii. 28 we have *kâl-sârê hammelek haggibborîm*, "all the princes who surround the king, the mighty chiefs"

(6) *Is.* v. 22. (7) *Gen.* x. 8. (8) *Gen.* x. 9.

of them taken from the Jehovist version. These are the only two places in the first eleven chapters of *Genesis,* where the writer, instead of presenting his statement with no other guarantee save that of his personal authority, alludes distinctly to a popular story. The whole method, in both instances, is so peculiar, breaking in so evidently upon the thread of the narration, that it is impossible to doubt that it was intentional. It seems to imply a sort of oratorical precaution, or reserve. The narrator no longer speaks directly in the name of the inspiration which guides him, but simply appears as the recorder of a current tradition. For instance, when, in the sixth chapter, fourth verse, he says, "these are the heroes of old, men of renown," it is clear that he credits the popular legend with the appellation *gibborîm,* "heroes," and that his expressions might be thus paraphrased: "These are the men who are known as the heroes of old, about whom so many tales are told."

This view has elsewhere (1) led me to regard the introduction of this story in *Genesis* from a very different standpoint from that of most orthodox commentators; the thought of the writer, as I think, seeming to be not so much to set forth a history of a positive character as to make use of a widely-spread legend, in order to give it a meaning conformed to his doctrine, making a symbolical and figurative narration of it, depicting therein, under striking forms, the violence and iniquity of men before the Deluge,

(1) *Essai de commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose,* p. 342.

and the state of revolt against the divine laws which drew this terrible punishment down upon them. The first chapters of *Genesis*, and it is the object of our book to demonstrate this, are nothing more than a collection of the ancient Hebrew traditions of the beginning of things, traditions which they held in common with the nations by whom they were surrounded, and in a very special way with the Chaldæo-Babylonians. This compilation was made by inspired writers, who found means, while collating the old narratives, to make them the figurative garb of eternal truths, such as the creation of the world by a personal God; the descent of mankind from a single pair, their fall in consequence of the guilt of the first parents, which put them under the dominion of sin; the free-will character of the first sin, and of those which followed in its train. But while drawing a sublime dogmatic teaching from the sequence of this traditional history, the value and authority of which are not in the least impaired or lessened by this way of understanding the sacred book, and while impressing upon the story the stamp of the most rigorous monotheism, which it could not possibly have always preserved in the popular narratives, the legendary and allegorical tone have been retained. The form, made venerable in their eyes by its antiquity, has been respected, and into the body of the recital has been grafted the whole story of generation after generation up to the days of the Patriarchs, who left Chaldæa to enter the land of Kena'an.

It is evident, from the very words of *Genesis* vi. 4 and x. 9, that the Hebrews possessed a whole cycle

of heroic legends, which passed from mouth to mouth, legends analogous to those of the neighboring peoples. We are now enabled to form some idea of what these legends, in large part brought by the Teraḥites from their Chaldæan cradle, may have been, by means of the fragment relating to Nimrod, inserted in chapter x., as well as the numerous remains of heroic myths which constitute the cycle of the Chaldæo-Babylonian epopee, lately come into our possession, and which we are learning to decipher. Divided into two parts by the Deluge, for they are continued for several generations after the cataclysm, this cycle of heroes does not vary essentially from the analogous cycles found in the traditions of the Greeks and Indians, nor that which has but barely been brought to light in Chaldæa. The narratives composing it were, of all those treating of the origin of things, evidently the very ones which bore the most decided mythological impress, and would be most likely to suggest polytheistic ideas by the worship of its heroes. They were also the very ones systematically made least use of by the inspired writers. They steadily offered, as the only heroes whose memory Yisraêl should hold in honor, the patriarchs, with whom began the separate history of the people of God, they whose lives were characterised as human and natural, and who were associated with the tradition of monotheism, which held Yisraêl apart from all other nations. Thus, after the account of the Creation, the Fall, and the First Murder, or, in other words, the Origin of Sin in the world, the detailed and consecutive narrative only begins with Abrâhâm.

Only one complete story is recorded in the vast interval of time which separates the fratricide of Qaîn from the calling of Abrâhâm, and that is the story of the Deluge, which is owing to its moral and religious import. The preceding and subsequent periods are taken up solely with bare Tholedôth, constructed so as to cut short all mythical outgrowth. As to the legends which referred to the *gibborîm asher mê'ôlâm,* "the heroes of great antiquity," the sacred writers refuse them the right of being named in their books. Nevertheless, they do not pass over them in absolute silence, for they are confronted with the fact of their existence, of which they must take some account, if only to warn Yisraêl against the abuses which may result from it. But they refer to them only by way of allusion, and in *Genesis* vi. 1–4 the author of the Jehovist document, whose text and pervading idea has been adopted by the final redactor, stigmatizes with reprobation those very personages on whom the legend admiringly bestowed the name of *gibborîm,* or "heroes," and made of them *anshê hasshêm,* thus boasting of their glory, their greatness and their exploits.

We saw just now that one of the essential traits of the nature of heroes among the Gentile peoples was the fact of their springing from the loves of the gods and mortal women But with the monolatric and monotheistic conception which dominated the Hebrew mind, even over and above the faithful observance of the precepts of the Thorah, and which assured to Yahveh an incontestable predominance over the strange gods which were associated with Him, while

yet subordinated to Him, when the people of Yisraêl fell into polytheism; with the manner in which Yahveh, even when the idea of His purely spiritual essence was overshadowed by the obtrusion of impure and gross elements, stood distinct from all the elohîm of the nations in His character of a god without a spouse, who was never said to have entered upon the conjugal state; with this special characteristic of the religious spirit of Israel, the divine loves, whence issued the heroes of the pagan peoples, necessarily had to be transferred into the world of beings intermediate between God and mankind, the heavenly angels, subject to Yahveh Elohîm, created by Him, ministers of His will, but of a much purer and higher nature than men. Thus it was not the *elohîm*(1) who were regarded as fathers of the *gibborîm*, as among the Gentile nations, but only the *benê hâ-*

(1) The word *elohîm* is often applied in the Bible to the gods of the Gentiles; but the signification "angels," sometimes attributed to it in the ancient versions, does not seem philologically justifiable (see Gesenius, *Thesaur.*, vol. I., p. 95 et seq.) The substitution of "angels" for "God" in the majority of the passages where this translation occurs is only the result of a later scruple, which desired to avoid too strong a flavor of anthropomorphism. In the 82d *Psalm*, 1st verse, the *elohîm* are undoubtedly the kings of the earth. In the 97th *Psalm*, 7th verse, the gods of the nations are spoken of in the following words:

> "They are confounded, all those who serve images,
> who glory in vain idols.
> All the gods fall down before him."

On the other hand, in the mythological narratives of the Phœnicians in Sanchoniathon (p. 28, ed Orelli), the *elohîm* are subordinate gods, genuine δαίμονες, the companions and servants of El-Cronos.

elohîm, or spirits of an inferior order, attracted by the beauty of the *benôth hââdâm.*

The sacred writers have accepted this rendering, which did not detract from their doctrine of the nature of God, and entailed no danger of dogmatic error, even agreeing to a remarkable extent with the idea that angelic purity itself is imperfect in the sight of God, and that the ministers of the will of the Eternal are themselves capable of sin,(1) for perfection is an attribute of Yahveh only. Doubtless there is an idea implied contrary to the absolute spirituality of angels. But this absolute spirituality is nowhere distinctly stated in the books of the Old Testament; some of the Fathers of the Church even, as Bergier has observed, have only an imperfect conception of it; Tertullian, Origen, Clement of Alexandria even concede that angels are always clothed with a subtle body, such as the philosophers of paganism attribute to the *δαίμονες*; they reserve pure spirituality for God alone, believing that it cannot exist in its perfect state in any creature. And St. Jude is entirely in accord with the conception of *Genesis*, when he represents the angels who united with the daughters of men as "not having preserved their dignity, and having left their own habitation," as deserving "to be bound with eternal chains and reserved for the judgment of the great day." The marriages of the *benê hâelohîm* with the *benôth hââdâm*, as depicted by the pen of the author of the Jehovist document, and of the final editor, who copies him, are monstrous and criminal unions, which

(1) *Job* iv. 18; xv. 15.

excite the anger of Yahveh against the man who connived at these acts, "because he is flesh," and "the spirit of God no longer prevails in him,"(1) him whose daughters were the seducers of the angels. He is immediately punished by a preliminary visitation, the shortening of his life upon the earth.(2) And in the sacred book the *gibborîm*, so glorified by popular tradition, these men of renown, *anshê hasshêm*, appear as a reprobate race, the offspring of sin, whose appearance gives the signal for the reign of violence and corruption which thenceforth pervades the earth,(3) until the day when the Deluge comes to punish them by extermination. There is something here analogous to the way in which the gods of the nations, represented at first as imaginary beings, or as adversaries opposed by Yahveh, are finally accepted as real, and transformed into demons by the Judaism of Alexandria and the writers of the New Testament.(4)

(1) This is, as has been demonstrated by Schrader (*Studien zur Kritik und Erklærung der biblischen Urgeschichte*, p. 75 et seq.), the true meaning of the phrase *lo-yadôn rûḫi bââdâm le'ôlâm.* I would add that the verb *dûn*, of which we have the only instance here, is evidently related to the Assyrian verb *dananu*, the use of which is, however, as frequent as it is possible to be in the language of Asshur. Nothing is better known than the two parallel processes by which the primitive biliteral roots of the Semitic languages became triliteral, being transformed into concave roots with medial waw, or into roots with the second and the third radical alike. The two modes of derivation have been employed simultaneously in many cases for a primitive root within the same idiom.

(2) *Genes.* vi. 3. (3) *Genes.* vi. 11 and 12; cf. 5–7.

(4) In regard to the epoch when these various notions about the gods of the Gentiles were adopted, see W. Baudissin's fine

The determination of the identity of the *benê hâelohîm* and the *benôth hââdâm* is not the only difficulty presented by the mysterious narrative with which the sixth chapter of *Genesis* opens. The mention of the *nephîlîm* in verse 4 gives rise to an equally obscure question, which has suggested a great number of theories. In the first place, the exact meaning of the phrase should be settled: *hannephîlîm haiû bââreç bayâmîm hâhêm vegam aharê-kên asher yabû benê hâelohîm elbenôth hââdâm.* However, I do not consider it necessary to enter upon an extended philological discussion in this place; it will suffice to refer the reader to Schrader's satisfactory demonstration,(1) that the only correct grammatical translation is: "the giants were on the earth in these days, and also after that the children of God had come in unto the daughters of man."

All the ancient versions translate *nephîlîm* "giants," and the modern exegetes do the same.

dissertation, *Die Anschauung des Alten Testaments von den Gœttern des Heidenthums*, in the first volume of his *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte.* We will say, however, that Crusius (*Hypomnemata ad theologiam propheticam*, vol. I., p. 144 et seq.); Beck (*Einl. in das System d. christl. Lehre*, p. 102 et seq.; *Die christl. Lehrwissenschaft*, vol. I., p. 259); Von Hofmann (*Weissagung und Erfüllung*, Part 1, p. 120); Franz Delitzsch (*Biblische Psychologie*, 2d Ed., p. 305 [Eng. Trans., 1867, p. 359. Tr.]); H. Schultz (*Alttestamentliche Theologie*, vol II., p. 133 [cf. 2d Ed., p. 563 et seq. Tr.]); and Knobel (*Der Prophetismus der Hebræer*, vol. I., p. 240), trace back a great deal farther than he does the idea that the strange gods actually existed as demons, and fancy that they find vestiges of such a notion in the very books of the Thôrâh, and in the *Psalms.*

(1) *Studien zur Kritik und Erklærung der biblischen Urgeschichte*, pp. 99–108.

This signification is in fact necessitated by the second Biblical passage where the word is found, which also appertains to the Jehovist document. This is in *Numbers* xiii. 32, 33, in the course of the account given by the explorers sent from the desert to the land of Kena'an: "all the people that we have seen are men of high stature; and we saw there even the *nephîlîm*, the children of 'Anâq, descendants of *nephîlîm;* we were in our own eyes as grasshoppers, and such were we also in their eyes." In the Aramaic of the Targumim, Orion, or rather Sagittarius, the Kesîl of the Hebrew, is called *niphlâ*,(1) an expression rendered in the Syriac version by *gaeborô*, "giant;" and it calls the great constellations of the heavens *nephîlîn*, "giants."(2) In the *Medrash* of the book of *Ruth*,(3) quoted by Castelli, there is a question as to the progeny of the union of a *nephîl* with a *nephîla*, a giant with a giantess. All this shows plainly that *nephîlîm* is not the designation of a special race, a particular people, but is a general term to designate "giants."(4)

(1) *Job* ix. 9. (2) *Is.* xiii. 10.

(3) ii. 1. [see Castelli, *Heptaglott.*, under נפל; Chald., col. 2361. Tr.]

(4) In regarding *nephîlîm* not as a proper name, but as a substantive of a general nature, which is its true character, the question which has agitated so many commentators requires no answer. This question, which Delitzsch (*Comment. üb. d. Genes.*, 3d Ed., p. 328 [cf. 4th Ed., p. 197. Tr.]) solves in the negative, and Schrader (*Studien zur Kritik und Erklærung d. bibl. Urgeschichte*, pp. 102, 103) affirmatively, is as to whether the *nephîlîm* of the book of *Numbers* should be considered as the descendants of the antediluvian *nephîlîm*. There is no reason for supposing a tie of kinship between them.

The etymology of the word has so far remained obscure. It is usually traced back to the root *nâphal*, "to fall," and following from that "to throw oneself, to pounce," upon some one. This conceded, some, like Raschi, regard the *nephîlîm* as fallen angels,(1) which becomes utterly absurd when the sons of 'Anâq are in question, as in *Numbers;* Kimchi, quite as unreasonably, fancies that the giants were thus named because men "fell into a fright" on seeing them; Aquila translates it ἐπιπίπτοντες, and Symmachus *βιαῖοι*, meaning "those who throw themselves violently" on men and oppress them, and this explanation is the only reasonable one, if the derivation from the root *nâphal* be admitted.(2) But this derivation is doubtful; some other etymologies have been proposed,(3) the last of which is that of Tuch(4) and of Schrader,(5) associating *nâphîl* with the root *pâlâ*, "to separate, to distinguish," which has in the niphal the acceptation of "to be marvellous, notorious, enormous." I consider this positively settled by the discovery which I have made on a small fragment of an Accadic-Assyrian lexicographic table, one of the results of the explorations

(1) See Hasse, *Entdeckungen*, Part II., p. 62; Delitzsch, *Comment. üb. d. Genes.*, 3d Ed., p. 324. [cf. 4th Ed., p. 194. Tr.]

(2) Gesenius, *Thesaur.*, vol. II., p. 899; Keil, *Genesis und Exodus*, p. 88. [2d Ed., 1866, p. 94; Eng. Trans., 1864, p. 137. Tr.]

(3) Ewald's (*Jahrbücher*, vol. VII., p. 18) is utterly inadmissible.

(4) *Kommentar über die Genesis*, p. 159. [2d Ed., by Arnold and Merx, p. 125. Tr.]

(5) *Studien zur Kritik und Erklærung der biblischen Urgeschichte*, p. 99.

of Layard at Kuyoundjik, which, after many vicissitudes, has been stranded in a private collection in Paris, of the Assyrian word *naplû* (the exact correspondent of the Hebrew *nâphîl*, and at the same time undoubtedly derived from the root *pâlâ*), serving to explain the Accadian *ušû-gal*, literally "exceptional in greatness," the use of which, as signifying "ogre," in Assyrian-Semitic *ušûgallu*,(1) and as an adjective with the signification of "excellent," in Assyrian *bašmu*,(2) is familiar to us through other examples. The word *naplû* = *nâphîl* bears, moreover, internal evidence, in its formation, of an Assyrian origin. The fact is, that names formed by the prefix of a servile *n*, derived from the niphal voice of the verbs, occupy a much more important place in this idiom than in any of the other Semitic

(1) Syllabary A, No. 125. The reading *ušûgallu* is settled by the variation *ušîgallu* of the monolith of Asshur-naçir-abal (col. 1, l. 19 [*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, I., pl. 17. Tr.]). It is the Accadian word adopted into Semitic-Assyrian as a borrowed word.

The signification "ogre" is plainly apparent from the following passages:

Kakkaka ušûgallu ša ištu pišu imtav la inattûku, var. *damu la izarruru*, "thy weapon is an ogre, from whose mouth venom does not depart:" *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 20, 3, l. 15, 16. *Kakku ša kima ušûgalli šalamta ikkalu*, "the weapon which, like the ogre, devours entirely:" *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 19, 2. l. 61–62. Cf. vol. IV., pl. 5, col. 1, l. 14–15, where one of the seven evil spirits who fight against the moon has the form of a *ušû*[*gallu*]. Asshur-naçir-abal, in the passage cited above, is entitled *ušîgallu idku*, "a powerful ogre."

(2) *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 27, l. 63, *a–b*.

languages.[1] Outside of the infinitives vocalized in *naqṭal*, we find five different types of such names:

1) *Nomina mutati: napḫaru*, "collection, gathering, totality," from *paḫaru; naramu*, "preferred, favored, delight," from *râmu* (*rûm*); *namraçu*, "rough, difficult," from *maraçu; nannaru*, "luminous, illuminator," from *nâru* (*nahar*); *narkabatu*, "chariot," from *rakabu;*

2) *Nomina permanentis: nabnitu*, "creature, production," from *banû;*

3) *Nomina mutati: nimiqu, nimequ*, "profound understanding, mysterious wisdom," from *emiqu;*

4) *Nomen mutati: niklalu*, "completion, achievment," from *kalalu;*

5) *Nomen mutati: numḫaru*, "a thing collected, received," from *maḫaru;*

6) *Nomen permanentis: nadannu*, "fortified, reinforced," from *dananu; naparku*, "diminished, defective, wanting," from *paraku.*

Among the Assyrian names which are known to us through the Biblical transcriptions, and whose original form has not yet been discovered, those of *Nimrod*, from the root *maradu*, and of the god *Nibḫaz*,[2] most probably *Nipḫaz*, from the root *paḫaz*,[3] belong to the same formation.

(1) Oppert, *Éléments de la grammaire assyrienne*, 2d Ed., p. 100; Sayce, *Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes*, p. 107.

(2) 2 *Kings* xvii. 31.

(3) Derivations from Semitic roots, according to this mode of formation, have been erroneously sought for in the names *Ninip*, the reading of which is more than doubtful, *Nergal* and *Ninua*, which are not derived from *ragalu* and *navû*, but are corruptions of the Accadian *Ne-urugal*, "lord of the abode of the dead"

The interpetations for the words *vegam aḥarê-kên asher* have always been extraordinarily varied, while, on the contrary, since the time of the Septuagint, Philo and Josephus, the general understanding of verse 4, as identifying the *nephîlîm* with the *gibborîm*, and acknowledging them to be the issues of the union of the "sons of God" with "the daughters of men," has been almost unanimous. Nevertheless, these two renderings seem to me inexact, contrary to the true meaning of the text; and on this point I am entirely at one with F. W. Farrar,(1) J. J. Stewart Perowne,(2) and Keil.(3)

Schrader(4) appears to me to have definitely settled the philological impossibility of taking the words *hannephîlîm haiû bââreç bayâmîm hâhêm* as though they were preceded by *vaiehî*,(5) that is, as expressing the idea that the giants made their first appearance then upon the earth. The meaning cannot be other than as appears in the following phrases:

(Fried. Delitzsch, *G. Smith's Chaldæische Genesis*, p. 275 et seq.), and *Ni-nâa*, "repose of the gods" (Fried. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2d Ed., p. 13 [*Schrifttafel*, No. 141. Tr.]).

(1) In Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, article *Giants*, vol. I., p. 686. [Am. Ed., 1869–71, vol. II., p. 910. Tr.]

(2) In the same *Dictionary*, article *Noah*, vol. II., p. 564. [Am. Ed., vol. III., p. 2177. Tr.]

(3) *Genesis und Exodus*, p. 89 [2d Ed., 1866, p. 94; Eng. Trans., 1864, p. 137. Tr.].

(4) *Studien zur Kritik und Erklærung der biblischen Urgeschichte*, pp. 100–102.

(5) We have a very characteristic example in *Gen.* vii. 10 of this last construction and of the meaning involved in it: *vaiehî leshib'ath hayâmîm ûmê hammabbûl hâiû 'al hââreç*, "and it came to pass, after seven days the waters of the Deluge were on the earth."

Genes. xii. 6 : *vehakkena'anî âz bââreç,* "and the Kena'anî (was) then in the land."

Genes. xiii. 7 : *vehakkena'anî vehapperîzzî âz yshêb bââreç,* "and the Kena'anî and the Perîzzî then inhabited the land."

Like these, it is a simple indication of epoch, and the words with which the fourth verse of the sixth chapter begins have no more to do with the origin of the *nephîlîm* than the two sentences with which we have compared it have to do with the origin of the Kena'anîm.

It is, on the other hand, impossible for me to follow Schrader,(1) when he associates *veyâldû lâhem* with the *nephîlîm,* and *hêmmâh gibborîm* with these and their children, as distinct from those born of the union of the *benê hâelohîm* with the *benôth hââdâm.* On the contrary, in *yâbû benê hâelohîm el-benôth hââdâm veyâldû lâhem,* it seems to me evident that conformably to the generally accepted interpretations, and according to the most ancient versions, the two propositions joined by the copula have the same subject, and the children whose birth is mentioned are the issues of the unhallowed unions. As to *hêmmâh gibborîm,* I can only understand it as referring to these children, and not to the *nephîlîm,* who are spoken of at the beginning of the verse.(2)

(1) *Studien zur Kritik und Erklærung der biblischen Urgeschichte,* p. 110

(2) Franz Delitzsch (*Commentar über die Genesis,* p. 238 [3d Ed.—4th Ed., p. 197. Tr.]) also understands it in this way; but considering the opening of the verse as an account of the origin of the *nephîlîm,* he is led on to the gratuitous supposition,

The elliptic construction, *veyâldû lâhem hêmmâh gibborîm*, with the omission of the regimen of the verb, *benîm*,(1) is an exactly parallel case with one constantly recurring in the Chaldæo-Assyrian augural tables of prognostics furnished by abnormal births:

enuva neštu talid va uzun nêši iššakkan, "behold, a woman brings forth, and there is (upon her child) the ear of a lion."

enuva neštu talid va uzun imnušu ul ibaši, "behold, a woman brings forth, and its right ear (that of the child) does not exist."(2)

Chapter vi., verse 4, of *Genesis*, as it strikes me, cannot be understood as signifying anything but that from the union of the "sons of God" and "the

unauthorized by any statement of the text, that there were two successive generations, issues of the marriages of the "sons of God" with the "daughters of men," first the giants, afterwards a less gigantic generation of heroes.

(1) This may be seen also in *Genesis* v., 3; x., 21.

(2) *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 65, 1 [l. 1, 2, obv. Tr.].

The form is the same in the tables of prognostics made up from the monstrous births of horses (*Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. III., p. 65, 2 [rev., l. 53, 61. Tr.]):

enuva sustu (?) *talid va çupri nêši iššakkanu*, "behold, a mare brings forth, and the nails (of the young one) are those of a lion;"

enuva sustu (?) *talid va inâšu ul ibašâ*, "behold, a mare brings forth, and its eyes (those of the young one) do not exist."

When, on the other hand, the issue is an animal of another species than the mother, the regimen of the verb *aladu* is expressed [*Ibid.*, rev., l. 59, 58. Tr.]:

enuva sustu (?) *kalba talid*, "behold a mare brings forth a dog;"

enuva sustu (?) *nêša talid*, "behold, a mare brings forth a lion."

daughters of men" was born that race of heroes so famous in legend; and this came to pass in the days of the giants, for men were of that description when the angels came in to the women of earth, as well as after this event, in the days of the heroes, the issues of these monstrous and unhallowed unions.

Here we have the expression of the belief, common among the ancients, that the men of the earliest ages vastly exceeded in stature those who followed them,[1] just as their lives were immensely longer.

Among the Greeks, the notion of the gigantic stature of primitive men[2] was intimately connected with the conception of their autochthony, and in their case, as in that of the giants who personified cosmic forces,[3] the name of *γίγαντες* was considered as a synonym of *γηγενεῖς*, "earth-born."[4] Arcadia was sometimes called *Gigantis*,[5] and Lycia, *Gigantia*,[6] from the supposed character of their primitive inhabitants. Traditions concerning a population of giants, born of the earth, are found in the southern

(1) Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 16; Aul. Gell., *Noct. Attic.*, iii., x., 10, 11.

(2) Welcker, *Griechische Gœtterlehre*, vol. I., p. 787 et seq.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 791 et seq. Welcker, more satisfactorily than any one else, has made clear the distinction to be established between these two classes of beings, in the Hellenistic traditions of the Giants.

(4) This qualification is also sometimes given to the Spartans of Thebes, as being born of the earth: *Argum. ad* Eurip. *Phœniss.*, ed. Guelferb; Nonn., *Narrat.*, 18, in Creuzer, *Meletem.*, vol. I., p. 92.

(5) Steph. Byz., s. v. 'ΑΡΚΑΣ.

(6) Hesych. et Etym. magn., s. v. *Γιγαντία;* Lexic. Rhetor., p. 342.

part of the island of Rhodes,(1) and at Cos.(2) Cyzicus displayed a causeway within her territory supposed to have been the work of these same giants.(3) In the *Odyssey* there is reference to Eurymedon, king of the people of the Giants, whose daughter, by the operation of the god Poseidon, became mother of Nausithoos, first king of the Phæacians, (4) who themselves gave out that they were related to the Cyclops and Giants.(5) A gigantic stature is also ascribed to the Lestrygons,(6) in the same poem, and Welcker(7) has well observed that in the traditions of Attica the Pallantides possess all the characteristics of the savage giants of primitive generations.

This idea that the heroes of the earliest times were genuine giants has become a commonplace in classic poetry,(8) and seems to be corroborated by the discoveries of remains of great fossil mammifers, which have been taken for the bones of heroes seven,(9) ten, eleven cubits high, or even taller.(10) Berossus, following the Chaldæo-Babylonian tradition, said that

(1) Diod. Sic., v., 55.

(2) Hippocrat., *Epist.*, p. 1292 [Ed. Foës., II. Tr.].

(3) Schol. *ad* Apollon. Rhod., *Argonaut.*, i., v. 987.

(4) *Odyss.*, H, v. 56–60. (5) *Odyss.*, H, v. 206.

(6) *Odyss.*, K, v. 120.

(7) *Griechische Gœtterlehre*, vol. I., p. 790.

(8) Homer, *Iliad*, E, v. 302 et seq.; Lucret., ii., v. 1151; Virgil, *Æneid*, xii., v. 900; Juven., *Sat.*, xv., v. 69.

(9) Herodot., I., 68; Solin, I., 84.

(10) Pausan., I., 35, 5; VIII., 29, 3, and 32, 4.—Joseph. (*Antiq. Jud.*, v., 2, 3) and even St. Augustine (*De civit. Dei.*, xv., 9) speak of discoveries of this sort as proofs of the existence of real giants, and it is well known that such an idea was not generally discredited before our own century.

the first men were of a prodigious stature and strength, and he represented them as retaining these characteristics during the first generations after the Deluge.(1) It was upon the narrative of the historian of Chaldea, with whom he was more or less indirectly familiar, as well as on the national traditions of Armenia, rather than the sixth chapter of *Genesis*, as has been sometimes said, that Mar Abas Katina founded his story(2) of the ancient giants of Mesopotamia and Armenia, their violence and the war between the two most terrible among them all, Bel the Babylonian and Haïgh the Armenian.(3) All the Arab legends are unanimous in representing as giants the primitive and ante-Semitic peoples of the Arabian peninsula, the sons of ʻAd and of ʻAmliq, nations that were already extinct in a remote antiquity, whose origin is lost in the night of the ages,(4) and who have left behind them a memory of wickedness and violence.(5) According to the beautiful apocryphal Apocalypse, known under the name of the fourth Book of Ezra,(6) the stature of men has been grow-

(1) Fragm. 17 of my edition.

(2) Cited by Moses of Khorene, I., 9 and 10.

(3) In the Armenian version of the Bible, the name of Haïgh is used to translate the Hebrew Kesil, the Syriac *gaeborô*, the constellation of the celestial Giant (*Job* xxxviii. 31 ; *Is.* xiii. 10). Evidently this shows, as La Croze was the first to remark, that Haïgh was undoubtedly a hero of the ancient popular mythology of Armenia, regarded as a giant and placed among the stars.

(4) *Num.* xxiv. 20 calls ʻAmâlêq "the first-born of nations," *rêshîth gôîm.*

(5) On this tradition of the giant peoples of Arabia, see Knobel, *Die Vœlkertafel der Genesis*, pp. 179, 204 et seq., 234 et seq.

(6) V., 52–55.

ing less ever since the epoch of the Deluge. This is an amplification of the idea which we have in the Talmudic legends, which represent Âdâm as endowed with prodigious size and strength,(1) beyond that of all the giants who lived after him. These legends permeated the oriental Christianity of the first centuries, and James of Edessa accepts them without a moment's hesitation.(2) Without going as far as that, St. Augustine(3) agrees as to the colossal stature of the first men, and furthermore thinks that among them lived giants who greatly exceeded them in size.

We need not be surprised, therefore, to find in the antediluvian narrations of *Genesis* this popular belief, the universality of which attests its very ancient origin, and which may be unhesitatingly ranked among those originating at the time when the great civilized peoples of a remote antiquity, still clustering about the cradle of the race, enjoyed a contact sufficiently close for some common traditions.(4) To-day we have scientific proof that such belief has no real foundation, but is simply a product of the imagina-

(1) Talm. Bab., *Baba bathra,* fol. 58; see Schrœter, in the *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, vol. XXIV., p. 285; Kohut, *Die talmudische-midraschische Adamssage,* in vol. XXV. of the same journal, p. 75, etc.

(2) Schrœter, *Erster Brief Jacob's von Edessa an Johannes den Styliten,* in *Zeitschr. d. deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, vol. XXIV., p. 275.

(3) *De civ. Dei,* xv., 9.

(4) Edward B. Tylor has not, to my thinking, laid enough stress upon this fact in his remark, otherwise most judicious, on the legends relating to the giant peoples: *Primitive Culture,* vol. I., pp. 348–354.

tion, and the popular fables and individual teratological facts amassed indiscriminately and without critical knowledge by Sennert,(1) Dom Calmet,(2) and some others, cannot contravene this positive fact. As far back as we can trace the vestiges of mankind, up to the races who lived in the quaternary period, side by side with the great mammifers of extinct species,(3) it may be proved that the medium height of our species has not been modified in the course of centuries, and that it has never exceeded its existent limits. It is well here to recall the wise and profound words of Dr. Reusch: "God gave a supernatural light to the writers of the Bible, but this supernatural light, like revelation in general, had for its sole object the manifestation of religious truths, and not the communication of profane knowledge; and we may, without violating the claims of these sacred writers upon our veneration, without weakening the dogma of inspiration, frankly acknowledge that in profane learning, consequently likewise as regards the physical sciences, they are not one whit superior to their contemporaries, and even share the errors common to the epoch and to their nation. . . . Moses was not raised above the intellectual plane of his time, as far as science is concerned, by means of his inspiration; furthermore, there is nothing to prove to us

(1) *Dissertatio historico-philologica de gigantibus*, Wittemberg, 1663.

(2) *Dissertation sur les géants*, in the first volume of his Bible, also reproduced in the first volume of Vence's Bible.

(3) See De Quatrefages' beautiful book, *L'espèce humaine*, Paris, 1877.

that he might have so raised himself by study and his personal reflections."[1]

An idea of violence, of abuse of strength, and of revolt against heaven, is always associated with the tradition of the primordial giants. "It was," says Maury,[2] "an ancient tradition that strong and powerful men, whom the popular imagination had pictured as giants, drew upon themselves the anger of heaven by their impiety, their pride and their arrogance. These supposed giants were, in all probability, nothing more than the first mortals who abused the superiority of their strength and their enlightenment to oppress their fellows. The knowledge which they possessed seemed to a credulous and ignorant populace a revelation given them by the gods, secrets which they had stolen from heaven. Whether the giants proclaimed themselves offspring of the divinities, or the superstition of a childish people believed them to be sons of heaven, they were looked upon as having sprung from the connection of the immortals with earth-born women. The priests, exclusive and jealous depositaries of knowledge, taught that finally these impious giants received the just punishment of their pride, having been destroyed by divine thunderbolts sent by the gods, whose power they had striven to emulate. Doubtless some great catastrophes, which put an end to the dominion of these tyrants, perhaps the revolution which gave over into the hands of the priests the

(1) *La Bible et la Nature,* p. 27 (French Trans.).

(2) Article *Diable,* in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle.*

power which belonged in the beginning to the military chiefs, were represented as acts of divine anger; however it may be, this legend was early introduced into Chaldæa and thence into Greece." There is more than one exception to be taken to this explanation, which supposes the universality of an altogether special event, the combats of the Kchatriyas and Brahmans of India,(1) and the triumph of a powerfully organized sacerdotal caste over the warriors, who in the end succumb to its rule. It is certain that the same state of things did not exist among the generality of nations, and indeed we are forced at the present epoch to abandon the illusion of a mysterious and primitive priestly power, when the priests were depositaries of all knowledge, an illusion commonly credited at the time when Creuzer's theories were uppermost in the science of religions. But, to my thinking, Maury is quite right in seeing in this universal tradition of the primitive giants, their violent and impious acts, solely a religious and physical myth. There is undoubtedly something of a historic memory here, like an echo and an expressive representation of the unrestrained corruption and unbridled brutality, which the Biblical tradition reveals to us among the latter God-forgetting antediluvians, at the time when "the giants were upon the earth," a hideous condition of things which undoubtedly existed, since the conscience of man in preserving the memory of it was unanimous in recognizing a divine

(1) See the summary of the principal traditions relating to this fact in Fr. Lenormant's *Manuel d'histoire ancienne de l'Orient,* 3d Ed., vol. III., pp. 557–584.

punishment in the cataclysm which overwhelmed the guilty populations.

We shall see in the following chapter that among all the peoples who retained the tradition of the Deluge, this terrible catastrophe is represented as the effect of celestial anger provoked by the crimes of the first men, who, as we have seen, are generally said to have been giants. This impiety of the antediluvians towards the gods, as well as the violence of their ways, is indicated with especial clearness in the Chaldæan narrative of the cataclysm, which has come down to us in the original text, and offers a singularly close resemblance to the Bible record. The same idea of violence and impiety is associated also with those gigantic nations which continued to flourish in the ages immediately succeeding the Deluge.(1) Berossus said that "the first men (after

(1) The Hebrews believed also that the earliest mortals of the postdiluvian times were still gigantic. This is implied by the theory in the Fourth Book of Ezra in regard to the gradual dwindling of human stature from this time on. The first populations of Palestine, the predecessors of the Kena'anites and Semites, some remnants of whom were found at the time of the arrival of the Benê-Yisraël in the Promised Land, populations which really appear to have been of lofty stature (we consider that point in our thirteenth chapter), had grown to be veritable giants in the popular imagination, *nephîlîm*, like those of the earliest days. There is a Jewish tradition, transmitted to the Christians, followed by St. Augustine (*De civit. Dei*, xv., 23), where he states that giants were as numerous in the first ages after the Deluge as before. And it is on the same principle that Aben-Ezra, interpreting the opening sentence of *Genesis* vi. 4, as did the Septuagint: "Giants were then on the earth, and also afterwards," without establishing the connection between *aharê-kên* and *asher*, understands "and also afterwards' as meaning "and also after

the cataclysm), inordinately proud of their strength and their gigantic size, began to despise the gods and to fancy themselves superior to them," (1) and this impious violence is associated with the tradition of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues, recorded also in *Genesis*, of which we shall treat in our fourteenth chapter. Mar Abas Katina, who in his book, antedated by several centuries, combined the popular narratives of the Armenians regarding their origin, and the historical records of Græco-Babylonian literature, which were copious, after the manner of Berossus, makes the following statement: "When mankind were scattered all over the face of the earth, giants of extraordinary strength lived among them, and being always possessed with fury, they drew their swords each one against his neighbor, and strove continually for the mastery." (2) We are not so circumstanced as to be able to say positively from which of the two sources, drawn upon by this Christian priest of the school of Edessa, who represented his history as having been written during the time of the first Arsacides, this story has been taken, although its analogy with the language of Berossus suggests the Græco-Babylonian. But his account merits none the less to be received as an echo of a more ancient tradition, and possibly as confirming the exactness of the extracts of Abydenus' abridgement of Berossus, inserted by Eusebius in his Chronicle.

the Deluge," an interpretation the fundamental rendering of which is exact, though it cannot be grammatically applied to the sentence.

(1) Fragm. 17 of my edition. (2) *Ap.* Moses of Khorene, i. 9.

The tradition, not only of the existence of primitive giants, but likewise of their unrestrained violence, of their rebellion against heaven, and their punishment, is one which is common to the Aryan no less than to the Kushite and Semitic peoples. But in the exuberance of mythological growth, for which Aryan genius has a natural propensity, this tradition of primitive history is involved and confounded in an often inextricable manner with purely naturalistic myths, which depict the struggles in the organization of the universe between the celestial deities and the personifications of telluric forces. Therefore I should not venture to follow Josephus (1) and a goodly number of modern interpreters in showing a connection between the indications of *Genesis* concerning the antediluvian *nephîlîm* and *gibborîm*, and the violence with which the whole earth was filled after the Deluge, on the one hand, and the Gigantomachy of the Hellenes, on the other. This last myth, truth to tell, is exclusively naturalistic; though the plastic genius of Greece treats with its habitual anthropomorphism the personages of these earth-born giants, they yet remain absolutely foreign to humanity, and continue to be solely the representatives of the forces of nature,(2) no serious mythology ever having entertained the idea of associating the Gigantomachy with the cycle of traditions of the beginnings of human history. The same thing is true of the battle of the Asuras against the Dêvas, or celestial gods, related so poetically in the

(1) *Antiq. Jud.*, i. 3, 1.

(2) Maury, *Histoire des religions de la Grèce*, vol. I., p. 217.

Astikamritamantha parva, which forms one part of the *Adhiparva* of the *Mahâbhârata*.(1) This myth is the counterpart in India to the Gigantomachy among the Hellenes; here, too, the combat is entirely physical; it springs from the very womb of nature, and if any trace of reference to an historic event of primitive antiquity could be found in it, it would be nothing more than the triumph of the celestial and luminous Aryan divinities over the gloomy Chthonian gods of an older population, who, being vanquished, sank to the condition of demons.(2)

The same idea of the victory of the new gods who supplanted the old ones, is also manifestly combined with the fundamental cosmogonic myth in the poetic narratives of the Titanomachy, quite distinct from the Gigantomachy, that is, the struggle sustained by the Olympian deities against the Titans, auxiliaries of Cronos, as an outcome of which the latter is dethroned, while at the same time the sons of Uranos and Gaia are precipitated into Tartarus.(3) The localization and the epic form with which Hesiod has clothed this narrative were influenced by the tradition of a great convulsion of the terrestrial crust, occasioned by the breaking forth of sub-

(1) Included in the first volume of the edition of the great Indian Epopee, published in Calcutta, in the first volume of Fauche's French translation, and in the *Fragments du Mahâbhârata*, translated by Th. Pavie.

(2) See the observations of Baron d'Eckstein, *De la légende du Manthanam et de sa localité*, in the *Journal Asiatique* of October–November, 1855.

(3) Hesiod, *Theogon.*, v. 617–735; *Apollodor.*, i. 2, 1; see Schœmann, *De Titanibus Hesiodeis*, Greifswald, 1844.

terranean fires, the scene of action being the Grecian countries and the witnesses the men already inhabiting them,[1] doubtless that convulsion known to geologists as the *upheaval of Tenarus*, the last of the Plutonian crises which overwhelmed the ancient world, the effects of which were felt from the centre of France to the coasts of Syria. Italy, in fact, was shattered throughout its length; Tuscany broke forth in volcanoes; the Phlegrian Fields burst into flames; Stromboli and Etna experienced their first eruptions. In Greece, Taygetus rose in the midst of the Peloponnesus, and the new islands of Melos, Cimolos, Siphnos, Thermia, Delos, Thera, emerged out of the seething waters of the Ægean Sea. The men who witnessed this frightful convulsion of nature naturally imagined themselves to be in the midst of a battle of the Titans, issued forth from the Chthonian Sea, against the celestial powers, combined with the Hecatonchirs, other terrestrial forces in conflict with the Titans, and their imagination depicted these tremendous adversaries, the ones stationed on the summit of Othrys, the others on the summit of Olympus, reciprocally endeavoring to crush each other by hurling burning rocks.

But in the myth of the Titanomachy, as contrasted with the Gigantomachy, there is something involved beside a struggle between the forces of nature. There should also be taken into account an important circumstance, mentioned in a part of the Greek tradi-

(1) This standpoint has been admirably set forth and developed with remarkable talent by Ch. Benoit: *Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, first series, vol. I. (1850), pp. 626–632.

tions, which we put aside in our first chapter that we might say a word on the subject here, returning to it still more at length in the tenth chapter, to the effect that mankind sprang from the blood of the Titans.(1) The conception of the sons of Uranos and Gaia, preceding the Olympian gods, as we find it explained and completely developed in Hesiod's *Theogony*,(2) has this special feature, that side by side with the personifications of the forces of nature in the four elements, forces represented as still violent, exuberant, and irregular, we find certain prototypes of primitive

(1) Homer, *Hymn in Apoll.*, v. 336; Orph., *Hymn.* xxxvii.; Procl., *In Cratyl.*, p. 82, cf. pp. 59 and 114 [ed. Boissonade]; Dio Chrysost., *Orat.*, xxx., p. 550; Olympiodor., *In Phædon.*, ap. Mustoxyd. et Schin., *Anecd.*, Part iv., p. 4; see Preller, *Die Vorstellungen der Alten vom Ursprung des menschlichen Geschlechts*, in vol. VII. of the Gœttingen *Philologus;* Gerhard, *Griechische Mythologie*, § 636; Maury, *Histoire des religions de la Grèce*, vol. I., p. 217.

(2) On the Titans, see principally: Kanne, *Analect. Philol.*, p. 68 et seq.; *Mythol.*, vol. I., p. 17 et seq.; G. Hermann, *De Mythologia græcorum antiquissima*, 1817; Bœttiger, *Kunstmuseum*, vol. I., p. 217 et seq.; Welcker, *Æschyl. Trilog.*, p. 38 et seq.; Ottfr. Müller, *Proleg. z. ein. Wissenschaftl. Mythologie*, p. 374 et seq. [Eng. Trans., 1844, p. 305 et seq. Tr.]; Gerhard, *Prodrom. mythol. Kunsterklærung*, p. 14 et seq.; Ch. Lenormant, *Nouv. gal. myth.*, p. 15 et seq.; Weiske, *Prometheus*, p. 316 et seq.; Schœmann, *De Titanibus Hesiodeis*, Greifswald, 1844, and *Zu Æschyl. Prometheus* (Greifswald, 1844 [also in his *Opusc. Acad.*, vol. III. Tr.]), p. 104 et seq.; Schwenck, *Griech. Mythol.*, p. 1 et seq.; Schwenck, *Mythol. d. Perser*, p. 393 et seq.; E. Braun, *Griech. Gœtterlehre*, § 185 et seq., 205 et seq.; articles *Titanen* in Jacobi's *Handwœrterbuch der Mythologie*, and in Pauly's *Realencyclopædie* (vol. VI., p. 2001 et seq.); Preller, *Griech. Mythol.*, 2d Ed., vol. I., pp. 36–54; Gerhard, *Griech. Mythol.*, §§ 106, 109, and 110; Welcker, *Griech. Gœtterlehre*, vol. I., pp. 261–291.

humanity, no less exaggerated and imperfectly regulated, as to power, energy, and stature, veritable representatives of the giants of the first ages, as accepted by Chaldæan tradition. I refer to Iapetos and his sons, Atlas, Menoitios, Prometheus, and Epimetheus, ancestors and symbolic types of the human race,(1) who are known as Titans like their father.(2) The tradition bearing upon them is all the more remarkable from the fact that the Bible accepts the Titan Iapetos of the Greek legend, retaining his name of Aryan origin under the form Yâpheth,(3) as one of the sons of Nôaḥ, and progenitor of one of the great races of men, the Aryans. As Preller has justly remarked,(4) the idea of antagonism with the Olympian gods is specially associated with the race of Iapetos. Menoitios, whose name characterises him as parallel with the Manu of the Hindus, a representative of "man" in general,(5) is a blasphemer of the gods, and Zeus hurls his thunder at him, and flings him into Tartarus, to punish his violence and impiety.(6) Prometheus,(7) with his brother, Epime-

(1) Hesiod, *Theogon.*, v. 507–616; see Vœlcker, *Mythologie des Japetischen Geschlechtes*, Giessen, 1824; E. Braun, *Griech. Gœtterlehre*, § 231 et seq.; Gerhard, *Griech. Mythol.*, §§ 114–116; Maury, *Histoire des religions de la Grèce*, vol. I., p. 364; Welcker, *Griech. Gœtterlehre*, vol. I., pp. 743–751.

(2) Ch. Lenormant, *Nouv. gal. mythol.*, p. 15, note 11; Preller, *Griech. Mythol.*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 41.

(3) On the purely Aryan character of this name, see Pictet, *Les origines Indo-européennes*, vol. II., p. 626 et seq.

(4) *Griech. Mythol.*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 41.

(5) Pictet, *Les origines Indo-européennes*, vol. II., p. 626.

(6) Hesiod, *Theogon.*, v. 514 et seq.; *Apollodor.*, i. 2, 3.

(7) In regard to this personage, besides Vœlcker's book, already

theus, is the protagonist of a series of myths corresponding to the history of the first sin in *Genesis*, which drew upon him the chastisement of the anger of Zeus; one of these myths has been considered by us in chapter ii., and we shall return to them in chapter x. In the Armenian narratives of Mar Abas Katina and of Moses of Khorene,(1) Yapedosthê, the counterpart of the Greek Iapetos and of the Biblical Yâpheth, whose name appears under a form which is doubtless indigenous,(2) is a giant, father of a race of giants, to which the national hero Haygh belongs. All these facts, the connection of which it is impossible to overlook, lead us to the conclusion that the tradition which associated an idea of violence, of impiety, of revolt against heaven, and of divine punishment, with the belief that the first men were possessed of enormous size and strength, had its share, as much as the notion of the primordial struggles of physical forces, in the birth of the fundamental conception of Titanomachy, although the epic description of Hesiod utterly ignores the human side.

This side is still more strongly marked in a third fable of the same family, found in the Greek

cited, p. 375 et seq., see Welcker, *Die Æschylische Trilogie, Prometheus*, Darmstadt, 1824; J. G. Weiske, *Prometh. u. sein Mythenkreis*, Leipzig, 1842; E. von. Lasaulx, *Prometheus, die Sage und ihr Sinn, ein Beitrag zur Religionsphilosophie*, in *Studien des classischen Alterthums* (Ratisbon, 1854), p. 316 et seq.; Preller, *Griech. Mythol.*, 2d Ed., vol. I., pp. 71–79; Welcker, *Griech. Gœtterlehre*, vol. I., pp. 756–770.

(1) I., 5, 8 and 9.

(2) Pictet, *Les origines Indo-européennes*, vol. II., p. 627.

mythology, the fable of the Aloades,(1) where the character of the antagonists of the gods is absolutely human, though marvellous; and Preller (2) seems to me to be entirely in the right when he ranks this narrative, not in the class of naturalistic myths, but in that of myths which treat of the beginnings of the history of mankind. The Aloades, who are said to be of gigantic size, and whose names, Ephialtes (from *ἐφιάλλομαι*) and Otos (from *ὠθέω*), are exact synonyms of *nephîlîm*, if derived from the root *nâphal*, are sons of Alôeus, the hero of the threshing-floor of the wheat, and of Iphimedea, the fruitful earth, whose products give strength; they should be regarded, therefore, as personifications of the first agriculturists, who, inordinately proud of their prodigious vigor, of their power and riches, think themselves capable of anything, defy the gods and arm themselves to dethrone them.(3) The tone of this legend leads

(1) Homer, *Iliad*, E, v. 385; *Odyss.*, Λ, v. 305 et seq.; Pindar, *Pyth.*, IV., v. 156; *Apollodor.*, i., 7, 4; *Pausan.*, IX., 22, 5; 29, 1; Diod. Sic., V., 50 and 51; Hygin., *Fab.*, 28; Philostrat., *Heroic.*, I., 3; *Vit. Sophist.*, II., 1 and 2; Virgil, *Æneid*, VI., v. 582; see Vœlcker, *Ueber die Aloïden*, in the year 1828 of the *Kritische Bibliothek* (Seebode); Eberz, *Ueber die Fabel der Aloïden*, in the *Zeitschr. für Alterthumswissenschaft* for the year 1846 [No. 99, Sept., 785. Tr.]; Wehrman, *Ares und die Aloïden*, in vol. XVIII. of the *Archiv für Philologie und Pædagogik;* Pott, in A. Kuhn's *Zeitschr. für vergleich. Sprachforschung*, vol. IX., p. 205 et seq.

(2) *Griech. Mythol.*, 2d Ed., vol. I., pp. 79–81.

(3) Plato (*Sympos.*, p. 190) and Aristotle (*De Mundo*, I.) cite the Aloades as types of the possible extent of human arrogance. Later on they are associated with the other giants and blasphemers of the gods: Virgil, *Georg.*, I., v. 277 et seq.; *Cul.*, v. 232; Stat., *Thebaid*, X., v. 848 et seq.

one to trace it back to the days when the ancestors of the Hellenic race, still living a pastoral life, regarded the population already attached to the soil, cultivating the ground and inhabiting towns, with distrust and hostility; it is the same spirit which makes of the first murderer, Qaîn, in *Genesis*, an agriculturist and builder of a town, while his victim, the innocent Hâbel, follows the pastoral life. The Aloades are builders and engineers, as well as agriculturists. They aim at nothing less than to change by their labors the very surface of the earth, making of the continent the sea, and of the sea a continent.(1) It is even related that they began to build a tower, whose summit they designed should reach to heaven,(2) manifestly a version, and the only one we know of in Greece, of the tradition of the Tower of Babel, as the story is told in *Genesis*, and as it existed in the Chaldæo-Babylonian cycle of legends in regard to the beginning of things. It was in the midst of these undertakings of insensate pride that they were struck by the bolts of the gods and precipitated into Tartarus.

The sacred writers did not need to modify the general character of the traditions concerning the first ages of the human race, such as must have existed among the Hebrews as among the other Semitic and Aryan peoples, in order to represent the antediluvian *nephîlîm* and *gibborîm* as generations full of violence and impiety. But the characteristic

(1) *Apollodor.*, i., 7, 4.

(2) Philo., *De Confus. Linguarum*, 2; Origen, *Adv. Cels.*, IV., p. 515 [ed. Paris].

peculiar to them, making them stand absolutely apart from the conceptions of paganism, is the condemnation of the superhuman origin attributed to these heroes, and the way in which their guilty and accursed character is dwelt upon, with the consequences resulting from it in the system of a rigorous monotheism. Yahveh is a jealous God; He will not endure to have part of the worship which is His due given to other gods, still less may His enemies be honored in any way whatsoever. In paganism, on the contrary, the terror inspired by the infernal and hostile powers induces the erection of altars to them, side by side with those of the celestial and protecting deities. All Gentiles were more or less genuine Yezidis, devil-worshipers. Among the Greeks, in spite of the fact that the Titans are the vanquished adversaries of the Olympian gods, incarcerated and punished in Tartarus, they are nevertheless feared, and in many localities divine honors are paid them,(1) in order to disarm their hostility, and in more than one instance this cult assumes the aspect of an actual protestation against an unjust defeat, as in the case of Prometheus; the Titan chained to the rock on Caucasus, in the tragedy of Æschylus, is a noble victim of the superior power of Zeus; he is punished for having been the benefactor of mankind. The Aloades themselves have a temple at Naxos.(2) There is nothing like this in the mind of the narrator in *Genesis*. The *nephîlîm*, and even the *gibborîm*, notwithstanding

(1) See Gerhard, *Griech. Mythol.*, § 128.

(2) *Corp. inscr. græc.* [Boeckh, vol. II., p. 355. Tr.], No. 2420.

their birth of the *benê hâelohîm,* are men of extraordinary power, yet nothing but men, impious beings, justly punished, whose fate is to serve as an example to future generations, and the Jehovist writer puts his audience on their guard against the corrupt mixture of admiration and condemnation which doubtless pervaded the popular legends relating to these personages among the Benê-Yisraêl, as among the neighboring peoples.

With the caution induced by these necessary remarks regarding the special spirit which inspired the Biblical writers, we must acknowledge that Chaldæo-Babylonian tradition, in the fragments of it which we possess, offers us incontestable traces of generations of heroes of the primitive ages, whose impious and violent character, and sinister fate following upon an episode of formidable terrestrial power, recall the circumstances of which we read in *Genesis* vi. 1–4. These are heroes who have dared to measure themselves with the gods, and who, notwithstanding their glory and their exploits, were not judged worthy of being admitted to that place where the heroes favored by the divinities make their abode, in "the land of the silver sky, with a soil that does not require cultivation, where the good things of blessing are given for nourishment, the joyous festival for light, where one dwells with the gods, far removed from misery and sadness,"(1) in those

(1) *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 66, rev., l. 28–38, *c*, conclusion of a prayer for the king, in which, after the good things of earth have been asked for him, there follows: *ana mudin tave annuti — mat šame kaspi kisalli la pidni — tabtu ša birikiti —*

Elysian Fields whither, by the order of his father, Êa, Marduk, he "who raises the dead to life,"(1) carries up the spirit (*utukku*) of Êabani, rescued from the infernal abodes, in the last canto of the Epic of Uruk.(2) Like the Titans and the Aloades in Tartarus, the heroes of whom we are speaking remain imprisoned in the "Land without return" (*irçit la târat*), an abode of desolation, distinguished by features altogether analogous to those of the Hebrew *Sheôl;* there they are associated with the mass of vulgar dead and with the monsters of primordial chaos, precipitated into these gloomy regions in consequence of the defeat of their queen, Tiamat. When Ishtar, the goddess of heaven, decides to descend to the Land without return, to Hades,(3) she says that she will find there "the crown-wearers, who governed the earth from the earliest times, to whom

ana akalšunu — u kiruru tabu — ana nurišunu — libši bulda — širi adi inqa — iqribi — ša ilani — [aši]but mat Aššur, "to complete these wishes, may he have a portion in the land of the silver sky, of the soil without culture, (where) the good things of blessing (are) for their nourishment and the joyous festivity for their illumination. The cessation of misery and sadness will be his with the gods who dwell in Assyria." See Schrader, *Die Hœllenfahrt der Istar*, pp. 71–87.

(1) *Ša mita bulluta irammu: Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 29, 1, obv., l. 17–18; cf. rev., l. 11.

(2) G. Smith, *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 281 [Rev. Ed., p. 298. Tr.]. The text in the *Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archæology*, vol. IV., p. 282; cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, p. 509 et seq.

(3) *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 49, 2, rev.; G. Smith, *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 229 et seq. [Rev. Ed., p. 239 et seq. Tr.]

the gods Anu and Bel assured a renown of terror."(1) And she adds: "There dwell the master and the servant, there dwell the princes and the nobles, there dwell the monsters of the abyss of the great gods, there dwelleth Etana, there dwelleth Ner."(2) In chapters x. and xiv. we shall have occasion to recur to the legends connected with the names of these two heroes, who are invested with a really Titanic character, and the first of whom was called Titan by Berossus.(3) For the present, it suffices for my purpose to have pointed out the destiny supposed to be theirs after death, and the analogy of this fate with that which the Greeks assigned to the Titans and the Aloades.

But the analogy is even more striking with those proud heroes of Chaldæan tradition, the remembrance of whom is associated with a sentiment of gloomy terror, as well as with the antediluvian *nephîlîm* and *gibborîm* of the sixth chapter of *Genesis*, in the description given us by Hesiod(4) of the violence of the formidable generations of the bronze age, whose deities were Cronos and the Titans;(5) generations

(1) *Našut agê ša ultu yume pana ibelu mâtuv — Anuv u Beluv ištakkanu šume šîri* [l. 46, 47. Tr.].

(2) *Ašbu enu u lagaru—ašbu išibbu u maḫḫu—ašbu UḪ.ME apsî ša ilani rabuti — ašib Etana ašib Ner* [l. 50–53. Tr.].

(3) Fragments 17, 18 and 19 of my edition.

(4) *Op. et dies*, v. 143–174.

(5) Gerhard, *Griech. Mythol.*, §§ 127 and 128. Fréret (*Mem. de l'Acad. de Inscrip.*, vol. XLVII., p. 41 et seq.) showed as early as the last century that the worship of Cronos represents the most ancient form of religion in the Greek countries, so ancient, indeed, that only a few traces of it remained in Hellenic times.

which were buried in Tartarus, and which, at the beginning of the iron age, were replaced by more righteous and better heroes, whose destiny on the other side of the grave was altogether different. It is impossible not to perceive that here we have another expression of the same tradition. And the fact should be taken into consideration that although with Hesiod it ends otherwise, the most general opinion among the Greeks made the destruction of the violent and demoralized humanity of the bronze age take place during Deucalion's deluge.([1])

"Father Zeus, says the poet, made a third race of men, endowed with speech, the bronze race, who were not equal to that of silver, but issued from the trunks of ash-trees, terrible and strong. They had no other occupation besides the dolorous labors of Ares, and arrogance; they did not feed upon wheat, but, inaccessible, their souls were as hard as steel. Their strength was great, and invincible hands were joined to their shoulders by vigorous arms. Their weapons were of bronze, their houses of bronze, their implements of labor of bronze, for black iron was not yet known. After having slain each other with their own hands, they descended nameless into the loathsome abode of Hades, which freezes with horror; however terrible they may have been in life, black death seized them and forced them to quit the brilliant light of the sun.

"Then, after the earth had swallowed up that race, Zeus, son of Cronos, made a fourth race upon

([1]) *Apollodor.*, i., 7, 2.

the nutritive earth, a juster and better race, the divine race of heroes, who are called demigods, in its first generation upon the vast earth. They likewise perished in the terrible combats of horrid war, some below seven-gated Thebes, in the land of Cadmos, fighting for the flocks of Edipus, and others, borne on ships beyond the wide sea, for the sake of Helen with the beautiful tresses. And there the final destiny of death overtook them; and then Zeus, son of Cronos, assigned them the fate of a life separate from men, at the extremities of the earth, far from the immortals. Cronos reigns over them, and, freed from all care, they inhabit the Isles of the Blessed in the Ocean of the tremendous whirlwinds, fortunate heroes, for whom a fruitful soil brings forth honeyed fruits thrice in the year."

A last question in the narrative with which the sixth chapter of *Genesis*, whose study has already so long detained us, opens, remains for us to touch upon, and it treats of the meaning which should be attributed to the words of Yahveh in the third verse: "My spirit shall not always prevail in man, because he is flesh, and his days shall be one hundred and twenty years." This is a first punishment, with which God smites the corruption and impiety of man, before resolving upon the extermination of the Deluge, which further progress in evil will, a little later, render necessary. He shortens the duration of human life, and causes it to shrink within limits which henceforth will become the normal ones.

Grammatically, this is the only possible signification of the text, and if the verse be examined by

itself, independently of all prepossession, the meaning impresses one forcibly. "The days of" any one, is an expression frequently used in the Bible to signify the length of his life,(1) and the preceding chapter of *Genesis* furnishes us with a series of examples which are absolutely convincing.(2) Moreover, we should place our *vehâyû yâmâyu mêâh v'esrîm shânâh* of *Genesis* vi. 3 side by side with *Psalm* cix. 8 *îhyû yâmâyu me'attîm*, which undoubtedly means "may his life be short!" This is the way in which the Septuagint, Josephus(3) and St. Jerome understand the expression.(4)

But this curtailment of man's life to a duration of one hundred and twenty years, as proclaimed by Yahveh before the Deluge, flagrantly contradicts the continued existence of centuries attributed to Shêm and his seven immediate descendants in the genealogy of *Genesis* xi. 10–25. It is in order to avoid this difficulty that an interpretation has been suggested, according to which the words of God would indicate a respite of one hundred and twenty years, accorded

(1) *Genes.* xi. 32; xxxv. 28; xlvii. 28; 1 *Kings* ii. 1.; *Psalm* cxix. 84; ciii. 15; civ. 4; *Is.* lxv. 20; *Job* xiv. 5.

(2) *Genes.* v., 5, 8, 11, 14, 17, 20, 23, 27, 31.

(3) *Antiq. Jud.*, I., 3, 2.

(4) For the complete justification of this meaning, see among modern exegetes: Ewald, *Jahrb. d. bibl. Wissensch.*, vol. VII., p. 23; *Geschichte des Volkes Israël*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 367 [3d Ed., I., p. 394; Eng. Trans., I., p. 275. Tr.]; Tuch, *Kommentar über die Genesis*, p. 157 [2d Ed., by Arnold and Merx, p. 123. Tr.]; Knobel, *Die Genesis*, 2d Ed., p. 82 et seq. [3d Ed., by Dillmann, p. 134. Tr.]; Baumgarten, *Pentateuch*, vol. I., p. 102; Schrader, *Studien zur Kritik und Erklærung der biblischen Urgeschichte*, pp. 91–95.

to mankind in order that they might repent and change their ways; after which respite, should impiety still be persisted in, the Deluge would follow. This interpretation appears for the first time in the Targum of Onqelos; St. Augustine[1] has adopted it, and on his authority it has been widely accepted. Among modern exegetes of various schools, it has been defended by Hengstenberg,[2] Kurtz,[3] Franz Delitzsch,[4] Von Hofmann,[5] and Keil.[6] All this to the contrary notwithstanding, the form of the text will not allow of it. Ewald, as early as 1828,[7] very justly remarked that if such were his thought the sacred writer adopted the very means not to be understood. To justify this explanation, it would be absolutely necessary that chapter vi., verse 5, should begin with *vayehî miqqêç mêâh v'eśrîm shânâh*, "and it happened after the space of one hundred and twenty years," conformably to what appears in chapter viii. 3, after the statement of vii. 24, and in viii. 6, after the statement of vii. 17. Moreover, one could not, without ignoring the fun-

(1) *De civ. Dei*, xv., 24

(2) In his articles in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, 1858, entitled *Die Sœhne Gottes und die Tœchter der Menschen.*

(3) *Geschichte des Alten Bundes*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 80. [Eng. Trans., 1859, pp. 95, 101. Tr.]

(4) *Commentar über die Genesis*, 3d Ed., p. 238 [4th Ed., p. 196. Tr.].

(5) *Schriftbeweis*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 504; *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, vol. I., p. 86.

(6) *Genesis und Exodus*, p. 87 [2d Ed., 1866, p. 93; Eng. Trans., 1864, p. 136. Tr.]

(7) *Die Komposition der Genesis kritisch untersucht*, p. 204.

damental idea in the construction and sequence of antediluvian history in the system of the writers of *Genesis*, place the union of the "sons of God" with the "daughters of men" only one hundred and twenty years before the Deluge, as the point of departure of the great corruption of mankind, after the birth of Shêm, when Nôaḥ was already 480 years old; for, according to the text itself, it is only then that "the spirit of God ceases to prevail in man, because he is nothing more than flesh." Much closer to the general conception of the development of the events of this period is the old tradition of Jewish origin, which places the event in the time of Yered,(1) whose name, signifying "descent," would thus be connected with the descent of the angels, who had fallen in love with the women, upon the earth, or else with the irremediable and universal fall of mankind. In fact, this beginning of the definite corruption of the antediluvian generations must necessarily be placed before Ḥanôk, whose sanctity contrasts with the evil that surrounds him, and whom the Eternal takes away from a world unworthy of him. Consequently, as the inspired book represents it, the patience of Yahveh was far more long-suffering with the sons of men than is allowed by the interpretation to which we object; His mercy accorded to the possibility of their repentance a much greater respite than one hundred and twenty years, a period far too short, as measured by the length of life assigned to the antediluvians.

(1) Abou-l-Faradj, *Histor. dynast.*, p. 8, ed. Pococke.

Thus we see no possibility of escaping the plain contradiction which exists between *Genesis* vi. 3 and xi. 10–25. It must be accepted just as presented in the text. But it is not actually embarrassing, except for such as still endeavor to defend the theory known as the *Unity of Genesis*. For all who, yielding to evidence, accept, without feeling therefore obliged to agree with the exaggerated consequences deduced therefrom by rationalism, the distinction of the two fundamental documents, the Elohist and the Jehovist, which have been used as sources by the final editor, who has done little beyond establishing a concordance between them, while leaving their redaction intact;—for all who accept this certain result, as I conceive it, of a century of critical study, the difficulty no longer exists. *Genesis* vi. 1–4 does not emanate from the same author as the Thôledôth Shêm of the eleventh chapter, 10–25. The first fragment appertains to the Jehovist redaction and the second to the Elohist. Nor is this the only place where there exists a divergence between the two books which were cast into one in the composition of *Genesis;* other more considerable and important instances might be adduced, such as the comparison of the two narratives of the Creation in chapters first and second will show. And it is precisely the way in which the final redactor or compiler has refrained, beyond a certain point, from harmonizing and doing away with the discrepancies of the two narratives which he has thrown together, that proves the sacred and inspired character recognized by him in their redaction. It is easy enough to point out divergences of

the same kind in the different versions of the same occurrence, as related in two books of the Bible like *Kings* and *Chronicles*. And it should be carefully noted that they bear only upon events of an historic nature and not upon things essential to faith, or those which concern revelation. Some discordances of fact in regard to certain events in the life of Christ even may be proved in the different Evangelists. St. Augustine(1) and St. John Chrysostom(2) do not hesitate to acknowledge them, while estimating them at their true value, and it has been justly remarked that this very discrepancy in the sources, which there has been no attempt to efface, is one of the strongest proofs of the good faith and historic credibility of the Church.(3) The Christian's conscience need not, therefore, trouble him, when he accepts this fact, as we do here.

With Ewald,(4) Tuch,(5) Knobel,(6) Delitzsch,(7) Vaihinger,(8) and Aug. Kayser,(9) I unhesitatingly

(1) *De Evangel. consensu*, 12.

(2) *In Matth.*, *Proœm.*, *Homil.* i., p. 6, ed. Gaume.

(3) Ch. Lenormant, *De la divinité du christianisme dans ses rapports avec l'histoire*, pp. 216–221.

(4) *Jahrb. der bibl. Wissenschaft*, vol. VII., p. 18.

(5) *Kommentar über die Genesis*, p. lxv., and p. 140 et seq. [2d Ed., by Arnold and Merx, p. li., and p. 110 et seq. Tr.]

(6) *Die Genesis*, 2d Ed., p. 81 [3d Ed., by Dillmann, p. 128 et seq. Tr.].

(7) *Kommentar über die Genesis*, 3d Ed., p. 642 [cf. 4th Ed., p. 591. Tr.].

(8) In Herzog's *Real-Encyclopedie*, vol. XI., pp. 335 and 337 [1st Ed., art. *Pentateuch*. Tr.].

(9) *Das vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte Israëls und seine Erweiterungen*, p. 7.

assign *Gen.* vi. 1–4 to the great Jehovist document, and I cannot in any wise agree with the opinion of Schrader,(1) who prefers to regard it as an addition of the final editor, drawn from a source other than that of the two fundamental writings. His reason, that the antediluvian genealogies of the Jehovist writer do not give the figures of the duration of the lives, seems to me far from satisfactory, for the expression of the fact of the reduction of man's existence to 120 years by way of chastisement for his corruption would suffice to imply that this existence was previously longer, and did not necessarily call for a prior statement of this primitive duration. It is not the use of the name of Yahveh alone, but also the general style of the redaction, the forms of the language used therein in preference, and the anthropopathic tendency in the way of representing the intervention of God in the history, which compels us to acknowledge in the first four verses of the sixth chapter of *Genesis* the hand of the Jehovist writer, whom Ewald, in his peculiar system, which has found no adherents, calls "the fourth narrator."

Furthermore, we may say that the Elohist writer makes all the patriarchs, except Yôsêph, live beyond the 120 years which the Jehovist in *Genesis* vi. 3 assigns as the final term of the duration of human life: Abrâhâm 175 years,(2) Yiçehâq 180,(3) Ya'aqob 147,(4) Yôsêph 110,(5) Lêvî 137,(6)

(1) *Studien zur Kritik und Erklærung der biblischen Urgeschichte*, pp. 96–99, 135 et seq.

(2) *Gen.* xxv. 7. (3) *Gen.* xxxv. 28. (4) *Gen.* xlvii. 28.

(5) *Gen.* l. 26. (6) *Exod.* vi. 16.

Qehâth, his son, 133,(1) 'Amrâm, father of Môsheh, 137,(2) a series in which a descending progression may be observed, which comes down to the 123 years of Aharôn,(3) to the 120 of Môsheh,(4) and to the 110 of Yehôshû'a.(5) On the other hand, this life of 120 years, as given by the Jehovist, is the length attributed by Herodotus(6) to the Ethiopian Macrobii. Above all does it accord in a manner altogether worthy of attention with the figure which the speculations of Chaldæan astrology had adopted for the maximum duration of human life. Epigenes estimated it at 112 years, Berossus at 116 to 117 years, others again at 120,(7) while the Egyptian astrologers assumed that in their country one could not live, at the utmost, more than 100 years.(8) As Ewald has remarked before us,(9) the figure of 120 years, given in *Gen.* vi. 3, represents very evidently the most ancient form of Chaldaic computation, for it is the sum of two sosses. It is the primitive result, founded solely upon the numerical cycles which date back to the highest antiquity among the people of Shumer and Akkad, probably even before their establishment on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, since these same

(1) *Exod.* vi. 18. (2) *Exod.* vi. 20. (3) *Num.* xxxiii. 39.

(4) *Deuteron.* xxxiv. 7. (5) *Jos.* xxiv. 29; *Judges* ii. 8.

(6) III., 23.

(7) Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, VII., 50; Censorin., *De die nat.*, 17, 4.

(8) Censorin., 17, 14.—But the rules attributed to Petosiris and Nechepsos allowed a possible length of 124 years to life in the climate of Italy.

(9) *Geschichte des Volkes Israël*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 367 [3d Ed., I., p. 394; Eng. Trans., I., p. 275. Tr.]

cycles are found again among the peoples of Northern Asia, the Uigurs, the Mongols, the Mandchus, and the Chinese, as well as in India.(1) The 116 years of Berossus and the 112 of Epigenes are, on the other hand, a later curtailment, due to astrological subtleties, which make their appearance at quite a late epoch.

Thus we find ourselves once more led back to Babylon and to Chaldæa, the cradle of the Teraḥites, as the birthplace of the form which clothes the primitive traditions of mankind in the narratives of the earliest chapters of *Genesis*.

(1) See Fr. Lenormant, *La langue primitive de la Chaldée*, p. 153 et seq.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DELUGE.

Among all the traditions which concern the history of primitive humanity, the most universal is that of the Deluge. It would be going too far to assert that this tradition is found among all nations, but it does reappear among all the great races of men, saving only in one instance—an exception which it is important to note—and that is the black race, traces of it having been vainly sought either among the African tribes or the dusky populations of Oceanica. This absolute silence of an entire race in reference to an event of such prime significance, amid the agreement of all other races on the same point, is a fact which should be carefully considered by science, for from it may proceed important consequences.(1)

We are about to pass in review the principal traditions of the Deluge, as found scattered among the various branches of the human race. Their agreement with the Biblical account will bring out into strong relief the original unity of these traditions; thus we shall come to recognize this as belonging to those which date back to the age before the dispersion of mankind, in the very dawn of civilization, so that

(1) See Schœbel, *De l' Universalité du Déluge*, Paris, 1858.

it could have originated only with a real and well-defined event.

In the first place, however, we shall be obliged to sweep away certain legendary records which have been erroneously associated with the Biblical Deluge, but whose essential features are incapable of such assimilation by the laws of true criticism. These stories refer to local phenomena, and their historic date belongs to a time comparatively near our own. Doubtless the tradition of the great primitive cataclysm may have been mixed up with them and their importance exaggerated; but the characteristic points of the narrative set forth in *Genesis* do not reappear in them, the event recorded distinctly preserving its restricted and special physiognomy, even under the legendary form with which it has been invested. To be guilty of the mistake of classifying tales of this nature with those that refer to the Deluge would tend to weaken the value of the consequences which we are justified in deducing from the agreement of these last, instead of strengthening them.

Such is the character of the great inundation referred in the historical books of China to the reign of Yao.(1) It has no real affinity with, nor even any resemblance to, the Biblical Deluge;(2) it is a purely

(1) Klaproth, *Asia polyglotta*, p. 32 et seq.; Gützlaff, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches, herausgegeben von Neumann*, p. 26 et seq.

(2) Bunsen, *Æjyptens Stelle in der Weltjeschichte* [vol. V., 4te Abtheilung., p. 299. Tr.], vol. III., p. 406 [Eng. Trans. Tr.]. —"I do not affirm that there may not be some exaggeration in certain expressions of the *Shû-king*, in respect to the great inundation which occurred in China during the reign of the Emperor Yao," says Pauthier (*Journal Asiatique*, sixth series, vol. XI., p.

local event, the date of which may be fixed, limited by the yet uncertain status of our knowledge of Chinese chronology, by going back beyond the eighth century B. C.,(1) long after the beginnings of the undoubted historic ages in Egypt and in Babylonia.(2) Chinese writers introduce us, in this connection, to Yî, a minister and engineer, who turns the waters back into their proper channels, raises dikes, digs canals, and regulates the taxes of every province throughout China.(3) A Chinese scholar, Edouard Biot, has proved, in a memoir on the

313 [1868. Tr.]), "but in the narrative, taken as a whole, it cannot possibly be supposed that its author wished to inculcate a belief in an 'universal deluge,' since there is no mention whatever in it of the death of a human being in consequence of the inundation; all that he says is that 'the populations of the plains lamented, sighing.'"

(1) See on this subject the well-considered remarks of Legge (*The Chinese Classics*, vol. III., proleg., p. 89 et seq.), who, however, while clearly showing the uncertainty of the traditional Chinese figures, attributes to those of the Bible an historical value which can no longer be critically accorded to them.

(2) According to the chronological system of the *Lih-taï-ki-ssé* (*Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, June, 1830, p. 419; *Journal Asiatique*, sixth series, vol. XI., p. 332), the labors of Yî in repairing the disasters of the inundation must have come to an end 2278 B. C., and according to the "Annals of the Bamboos" or *Tchu-shû* (the Chinese text of this book, with a translation, is published in the introduction to the third volume of Legge's *Chinese Classics*, pp. 108–176), in 2062 B. C.

(3) See chiefly chapters *Yao-tien*, *Yih-tsi*, and *Yi-kung* of the *Shû-king*, either in P. Gaubil's translation, or in Pauthier's *Livres Sacrés de l'Orient*, or in Legge's *Chinese Classics* [vol. III. Tr.].—Other texts may be found in the *Journal Asiatique*, sixth series, vol. XI., pp. 331–335.

changes in the lower course of the Hoâng-hô,(1) that the catastrophe referred to was due to the frequent inundations of this river; the primitive Chinese society, settled upon the banks of the river, suffering greatly from those overflowings. The labors of Yî were simply the beginnings of the embankments necessary to confine the waters, and these were kept up during the following ages.(2) A famous inscription cut into the rock on one of the peaks of the mountains of Hû-nân,(3) may have been a contemporaneous memorial of these labors, and consequently the most ancient specimen of Chinese epigraphy; this inscription apparently contains strong intrinsic proofs of authenticity,(4) sufficient to dissipate the doubts raised in regard to it by Legge,(5) except for the somewhat suspicious circumstance that it is known to us only through ancient copies, and that in spite

(1) *Journal Asiatique* for the year 1843.

(2) Legge (*Chinese Classics*, vol. III., proleg., p. 56 et seq.) has clearly proved that especially in chapter *Yî-kung* of the *Shû-king*, certain acts have been attributed to Yî which really belong to a much later epoch, the chapter in question being undoubtedly a romance of subsequent date, which gives this famous name the credit of all the undertakings for regulating the waters of the Hoâng-hô through a long succession of generations.

(3) Hager, *Monument de Yu, ou la plus ancienne inscription de la Chine*, Paris, 1802; Klaproth, *Inschrift des Yü, übersetzt und erklärt*, Berlin, 1811.

(4) See Pauthier's *Deuxième Mémoire sur l'antiquité de l'histoire et de la civilisation chinoises, d'après les écrivains et les monuments indigènes*, in the eleventh volume of the sixth series of the *Journal Asiatique*.

(5) In the Introduction to vol. III. of his *Chinese Classics*, p. 67, et seq.

of the most diligent search for several centuries past it cannot be discovered.(1)

The character of a local event is quite as evident in the legend of Botchica, as preserved by the Muyscas, the ancient inhabitants of the province of Cundinamarca, in South America, though in this instance there is a much larger intermixture of fable with the fundamental historic element. (2) This, in fact, is the story: The wife of a divine man, or rather of a god, named Botchica,(3) her own name being Huythaca, works abominable spells in order to force the River Funzha to leave its bed; the whole plain of Bogota is overwhelmed by the waters; men and animals perish in this catastrophe, a few only escaping destruction by seeking refuge on the loftiest mountains. The tradition adds that Botchica shattered the rocks which shut in the valleys of Canoas and Tequendama, to allow ingress to the waters; afterwards he gathered together the scattered remnants of the Muyscas nation, taught them the worship of the Sun, and ascended into heaven, after living five hundred years in Cundinamarca.

(1) See the texts quoted by Legge, as above, pp. 67–70, and Wang Tchang's article *Kin-shih-tsuï-pien*, translated by Pauthier, *Journal Asiatique*, 6th series, vol. XI., pp. 326–330.

(2) Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique*, vol. I., pp. 38, 87, and 316; vol. II., p. 14, et seq. [ed. 1810, pp. 32, 207, 226 and pl. xxvi., xxxii.; Eng. Trans., 1814, I., 96; II., 23, 63. Tr.]

(3) On the mythology and religious system of Cundinamarca, see the remarks in J. G. Müller's fine work, *Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen;* and also Girard de Rialle, *La mythologie comparée*, vol. I., chap. xvii.

Of all the traditions relating to the great cataclysm, by far the most curious is that of the Chaldæans. It has, without doubt, left the mark of its influence upon the tradition of India, and it more exactly resembles the account of *Genesis* than any other narrative of the Deluge. It is most evident to whomsoever may compare the two accounts, that they must have been one and the same, until the epoch when the Teraḥites left Ûr for Palestine.

We possess two versions of the Chaldæan account of the Deluge, which, though differing as to detail, are very nearly agreed. The earliest known, as well as the shortest, is that which Berossus copied from the sacred books of Babylon into the history written by him, according to the manner of the Greeks. After having referred to the first nine antediluvian kings, the Chaldæan priest thus proceeds:

"Obartes (Ubaratutu) being dead, his son, Xisuthros (Ḫasisatra), reigned eighteen sars (64,800 years). It was in his time that the great Deluge came to pass, the history of which is related in the following manner in the sacred documents: Cronos (Êa) appeared to him in his sleep and announced to him that on the 15th of the month of Daisios (the Assyrian month Sivan, a little before the summer solstice), all mankind would perish by a deluge. He then commanded him to take the beginning, the middle and the end of all that had been consigned to writing, and to bury it in the city of the Sun, Sippara; after that, to build a ship, and go on board of it with his family and dearest friends; to place in the vessel provisions for food and drink, and to intro-

duce into it animals, both fowls and quadrupeds; lastly, to get everything ready for navigation. And when Xisuthros asked in which direction he should steer his vessel, he was told 'toward the gods,' and to pray that good should come of it to men.

"Xisuthros obeyed, and built a ship five stadia long and two broad; he gathered in all that had been commanded him, and took on board his wife, his children and his intimate friends.

"The deluge having come upon them, and soon subsiding, Xisuthros loosed some of the birds, who, having found neither food nor place of rest, returned to the vessel. Some days later, Xisuthros again gave them their liberty, but they returned once more to the ship, their feet soiled with mud. At last, being loosed for a third time, the birds returned no more. Then Xisuthros understood that the earth was bare; he made an opening in the roof of the ship and found that it had gone aground upon a mountain. Then he came down with his wife, his daughter and his pilot, worshiped the Earth, raised an altar and sacrificed thereon to the gods; at this moment he disappeared with those who bore him company.

"Nevertheless, those who remained in the ship, not seeing Xisuthros return, also descended to the ground and began to look for him, calling him by name. They never saw Xisuthros again, but a voice from heaven made itself heard, bidding them be pious toward the gods; that he had received the reward of his piety in being taken up to dwell henceforth among the gods, and his wife, his daughter and the pilot of the vessel shared this great honor. The

voice said, moreover, to those who were left, that they should return to Babylonia, and agreeably to the decrees of fate dig up the writings buried at Sippara, in order to transmit them to men. It added that the country where they then were was Armenia. After hearing the voice they sacrificed to the gods, and returned on foot to Babylonia. A portion of Xisuthros' ship, which finally went a aground in Armenia, is still found in the Gordyæan Mountains in Armenia, and pilgrims bring away asphaltum which they have scraped from the fragments; they use it against witchcraft. As to the companions of Xisuthros, they arrived in Babylonia, dug up the writings buried at Sippara, founded a number of cities, built temples, and restored Babylon."(1)

This extract is taken from the book of Berossus, by Cornelius Alexander, called *Polyhistor.* The extract made by Abydenus is shorter, but enters more into detail in the passage about the sending forth of the birds.

"After Evedôreschos there were several kings, and lastly Sisithros, to whom Cronos announced that on the 15th of the month Daisios there would be a great abundance of rain. The god then commanded him to hide all the writings in the city of the Sun, Sippara. Sisithros, having fulfilled these commands, speedily set sail toward Armenia, for the prediction of the god was immediately realized. The third day after the rain had ceased, he loosed several birds, to see if they could discover any land already bare of

(1) Fragm. 15 of my edition.

the waters. But these birds, finding nothing anywhere but the sea, ready to swallow them up, and not being able to rest anywhere, returned to Sisithros; he sent out others. Having at last succeeded in his design at the third attempt, for the birds returned, their feet covered with slime, the gods carried him away from the sight of men. And out of the wood of his ship, which had stopped in Armenia, the inhabitants of the country made amulets, which they hung around their necks, against evil charms."(1)

Side by side with this version, which, interesting as it may be, is after all only at second hand, we are now enabled to place an original Chaldæo-Babylonian redaction, which the lamented George Smith was the first to decipher from the cuneiform tablets exhumed at Nineveh, and transported to the British Museum. The account of the Deluge in this is inserted as an episode in the eleventh tablet, or eleventh canto of the great Epic of Uruk, of which we gave a brief summary in our sixth chapter. As we then said, the hero of this epopee, called provisionally Izdhubar or Gisdhubar, since we do not know how to read his name, attacked by a sickness, a kind of leprosy, goes off to consult, in regard to his healing, the patriarch saved from the Deluge, Ḫasisatra, in the far-away country whither the gods have transported him, that he might there enjoy eternal felicity. He asks Ḫasisatra to unfold to him the secret of the circumstances which had gained for him this privilege of

(1) Fragm. 16 of my edition.

immortality, and it is on this wise that the patriarch is led to tell him about the cataclysm.

This narrative may be almost entirely restored by comparing the fragments of the three copies of the poem, which belonged to the library of the palace of Nineveh.(1) These three copies were made in the seventh century before our era, by the order of the King of Assyria, Asshur-bani-abal, from a very old copy, in possession of the Sacerdotal Library of the city of Uruk, founded by the monarchs of the first Chaldæan empire. It is difficult to settle precisely the date of the original thus transcribed by the Assyrian copyists; but it is certain that it goes back to

(1) The complete text may be found in the *Cuneiform Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 50 and 51.—For the principal translations so far made, see G. Smith, *Chaldæan Account of the Deluge*, London, 1872; *The Eleventh Tablet of the Izdhubar Legends*, in vol. III. of *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, pp. 530–596; *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 184–198; *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 264–272, 285–290 [Rev. Ed., p. 279 et seq., 300 et seq. Tr.] (pp. 222–239 of the German translation of Friedrich Delitzsch, with his observations at pp. 318–321). See, besides, Fr. Lenormant, *Le Déluge et l'épopée babylonienne*, in the second volume of *Premières civilisations*, pp. 3–146; Ménant, *Babylone et la Chaldée*, pp. 21–32; Abbé Vigouroux, *La Bible et les découvertes modernes*, 2d Ed., vol. I., pp. 184–212. The translation given by Oppert in his Assyriological course at the College of France has been published in E. Ledrain's *Histoire d'Israël*, vol. I., pp. 422–434, and has been the means of great progress in the understanding of certain portions of the text, though the explanation does not seem to me equally satisfactory throughout. The translation which we publish here contains a large proportion of personal work of our own, grafted upon the labors of those who were our pioneers in the study of this text. The philological justification for it may be found in appendix VI., at the end of this volume.

the epoch of that ancient empire at least seventeen centuries before our era, and possibly even farther, this being long before Moses, and almost contemporary with Abrâhâm. The variations offered by the three existing copies prove that the original copy was traced by means of the primitive form of writing, designated as *hieratic,* these characters having already become unfamiliar in the seventh century, for the copyists differed in the interpretation of certain signs; in some cases simply reproducing the forms of those which they no longer understood. Finally, it has been ascertained, by comparing these same variations, one with the other, that the copy transcribed by order of Asshur-bani-abal was itself a copy of a still older manuscript, in which some interlinear glosses had already been added to the original text. Some copyists introduced these into the text; others omitted them.

Having made these preliminary remarks, I will proceed to give in its integrity the narrative put in the mouth of Ḫasisatra by the poem:

"I desire to declare to thee, O Izdhubar, (?) the history of my preservation—and to tell thee the decision of the gods.

"The city of Shurippak,(1) a city known to thee,

(1) Shurippak, out of which the copyists of Berossus, by a succession of errors, made Λαράγχα, was a town of Lower Chaldæa, situated near the sea, for we find the "ships of Shurippak" spoken of (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia,* vol. II., pl. 46, l. 1, *e–d;* corrected in *Trans. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology,* vol. III., p. 589). The religious Accadian name of this city was *mâ-uru,* "the city of the ship," doubtless in allusion to the legend of the

is situated on the Euphrates;—it was ancient, and in it the gods [were not honored].——[I alone was] their servant, to the great gods.—[The gods held a council called by] Anu.—[A deluge was proposed by] Bel—[and approved by Nabu, Nergal and] Adar.(1)

"And the god [Êa], the unchanging lord,—repeated their command in a dream.—I listened to the decree of fate which he proclaimed, and he said to me:—'Man of Shurippak, son of Ubaratutu,—thou, 'make a vessel and do it (quickly).—[By a deluge] 'I will destroy seed and life.—Cause [then] to pass 'into the vessel the seed of all that hath life.—The 'vessel which thou shalt construct,—600 cubits will 'be the measure of its length—and 60 cubits the 'extent of its breadth and its height.—[Launch it] 'also upon the Ocean and cover it with a roof.'——I understood, and I said to Êa, my lord:—'[The 'vessel] which thou commandest me to build thus,—'[when] I make it—young and old [will laugh at 'me].'——[Êa opened his mouth and] spake;—he

building of Ḫasisatra's vessel. Malik is represented as the special divinity of Shurippak (*Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 60, l. 20, *a–b*). According to the supplement, furnished to the text previously published by the fragment recently brought to the British Museum, this city was built upon the Euphrates.

In the Mussulman traditions the place of Nôaḥ's embarkation was at Kufah, on the western arm of the Euphrates, or else at Babylon, or even 'Aïnvardah in Mesopotamia (D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, article *Nouh*).

(1) I adopt here almost textually the approximate restorations of Oppert, the general meaning necessitated by the continuation of the narrative.

said to me, his servant:—'[If they laugh at thee] 'thou shalt say to them: [He will be punished] who 'has injured me,—[for the protection of the gods] is 'over me.(1)— . . . . like caverns . . . —— . . . . 'I will exercise my judgment on that which is above 'and that which is beneath . . . . —— . . . . Close 'the vessel . . . —— . . . . At the time which I 'shall make known to thee,—enter in and close to 'thee the door of the ship.—In the interior, thy 'grain, thy furniture, thy provisions,—thy wealth, 'thy servants, male and female, and the young peo-'ple,—the cattle of the fields and the wild animals 'of the country, which I will gather together, and 'which I will send to thee, shall be kept behind thy 'door.'—Ḫasisatra opened his mouth and spake;—he said to Êa, his lord:—'No one has made (such 'a) vessel.—On the keel I will fix . . . . —I will 'see . . . . and the vessel . . . . . —— the vessel 'which thou commandest me to make [thus,]—which 'in . . . .'

. . . .(2)

"On the fifth day [its two sides (3)] were raised—within its cover fourteen in all were its girders, fourteen in all it reckoned of them above.—I placed

(1) Moḥammed says in the *Qorân* (xi. 40 and 41), evidently after a popular Jewish tradition of his time: "He built a vessel, and every time the chiefs of his people passed by him they mocked him." "Do not mock me, said Nôaḥ; for I will mock you in my turn as you mock me, and you will learn upon whom will fall the punishment, which will cover him with opprobrium. This punishment will remain perpetually upon your head."

(2) Here a hiatus of several verses.

(3) Of the ship.

its roof and I covered it.—I sailed in it on the sixth [day]; I divided its stories on the seventh;—I divided the interior compartments on the eighth.—I stopped up the leaks by which water came in;—I searched for the cracks, and I added all that was lacking.—I poured upon the outside three times 3600 (measures) of bitumen,—and three times 3600 (measures) of bitumen on the inside. Three times 3600 men, who were porters, carried on their heads chests (of provisions).—I kept 3600 chests for the food of my family—and the sailors divided among themselves twice 3600 chests.—For [supplying food] I caused oxen to be killed;—I established (distributing of portions) for each day. In [providing for the need of] drink, some casks and some wine—[I gathered together in quantity] like the waters of a river and—[provisions] in quantity like the dust of the earth;—[to arrange them in] the chests I put my hand.— . . . . of the sun . . . . the vessel was ready.— . . . . strong, and—I caused to be carried above and below the tackle of the ship.—[This load] filled up the two-thirds of it.

"All that I possessed, I gathered it together; all that I possessed in silver, I gathered it together;—all that I possessed in gold, I gathered it together;—all that I possessed of the seeds of life of every nature, I gathered it together.—I caused all to come into the vessel; my servants, male and female,—the cattle of the fields, the wild beasts of the country, and the sons of the people, I caused them all to come in.

"Shamash (the Sun) reached the moment determined upon—and he announced it in these terms:

'In the evening I will cause it to rain abundantly 'from heaven;—enter within the vessel, and shut thy 'door.' The moment fixed had come,—that he announced in these terms: 'In the evening I will cause 'it to rain abundantly from heaven.' When I came to the evening of this day,—of the day when I was to keep on my guard, I was afraid; — I entered into the vessel, and I shut my door. — In closing up the vessel, to Buzur-shadi-rabi, the pilot, — I confided (this) abode with all which it contained.

"Mu-sheri-ina-namari(1)—rose up from the foundations of the sky in a black cloud;—Ramman thundered in the midst of this cloud,—and Nabu and Sharru went before; — they went devastating the mountain and the plain; — Nergal, the powerful, drew (after him) punishments; — Adar advanced, overwhelming as he went; — the archangels of the abyss (*Anunnaki*) brought destruction — in their terrors they shook the earth.—The inundation of Ramman swelled up to heaven, — and (the earth) having lost its brightness, was changed into a desert.

"They broke the . . . . of the earth's surface like . . . ; — [they destroyed] the living creatures from the surface of the earth.—The terrible [deluge] upon men swelled up to [heaven].—The brother saw his brother no more; men knew each other no longer. In heaven—the gods became afraid of the waterspout and — sought a refuge; they ascended even to the heaven of Anu.(2) The gods were stretched motion-

(1) "The Water of Twilight at the dawn of day," one of the personifications of the rain.

(2) The highest heaven of the fixed stars.

less, pressed close against each other, like dogs.—Ishtar spoke like a little child, — the great goddess pronounced her discourse: — 'Behold how mankind has returned to clay, and — it is the misfortune which I announced in the presence of the gods. — So as I have announced the misfortune in presence of the gods,—for the evil I have announced the . . . . terrible of the men who belong to me. — I am the mother who brought forth men, and — like the race of fishes, behold, they fill the sea; and — the gods, because of [what is done by] the archangels of the abyss are weeping with me.'(1) The gods on their chairs were seated in tears,—and they kept their lips closed, [meditating] upon future things.

"Six days and as many nights—passed away; the wind, the waterspout, and the deluge of rain were in all their strength.—At the approach of the seventh day, the deluge of rain decreased, the terrible waterspout—whose assault had been like an earthquake—was calmed.—The sea began to dry up, and the wind and the waterspout came to an end.—I looked at the sea, observing it attentively.—And all mankind had returned to clay;(2) the corpses floated like seaweed.—I opened the window and the light came striking my countenance.—I was overcome with sadness; I

(1) Other copies do not include this last verse in Ishtar's discourse, correcting it thus: "The gods, because (of what had been done by) the archangels of the abyss, were weeping with her."

(2) This verse, and that with which Ishtar's discourse begins, a little above, offers a close resemblance to *Genesis* iii. 19. It is quite plain from this that the Chaldæo-Babylonians held that man was formed of clay, as stated in *Genesis* ii. 7.

sat down and I wept;—and my tears came upon my countenance.

"I looked at the regions which bordered the sea;—towards the twelve points of the horizon, not a continent.—The vessel was carried above the land of Nizir.—The mountain of Nizir stopped the vessel and did not permit it to pass over.—One day and a second day, the mountain of Nizir stopped the vessel, and did not permit it to pass over;(1)—the third and the fourth day the mountain of Nizir stopped the vessel, and did not permit it to pass over;—the fifth and the sixth day, the mountain of Nizir stopped the vessel, and did not permit it to pass over.—At the approach of the seventh day,—I caused to go forth and let loose a dove. The dove went, turned and—found no place where it could rest, and it came back.—I caused to go forth and I let loose a swallow. The swallow went, turned and—found no place where it could rest, and it came back.—I caused to go forth and I let loose a raven.—The raven went and saw the carrion on the waters;(2)—he ate, rested, turned and did not come back.

(1) In this and the two following verses, after the words "the mountain of Nizir," the text has "idem," showing that the end is repeated as in the preceding verse.

(2) *qarura ša mê imur; qarura* is from the root *qararu*, "to be motionless, frozen." As we read in Abydenus' extract from Berossus of the birds let loose by Sisithros, *ἐκδεχομένου σφέας πελάγεος ἀμφιχανέος*, it would seem that the historian of Chaldæa had a manuscript under his eyes whereon this word was spelled *garura* (owing to a peculiarity in Babylonian documents), and that he referred it to the root *gararu*, whence *gararu sa mê*, "the impetuous course of the waters." In the same way *οὐκ εὑρόντα*

"I then caused to go forth (that which was in the vessel) toward the four winds, and I offered a sacrifice. —I raised the pyre of the holocaust upon the peak of the mountain; seven by seven I arranged the measured vases,(1) — and below I laid reeds, cedar wood and juniper — the gods smelled the odor; the gods smelled a good odor; — and the gods gathered like flies above the master of the sacrifice.(2) — Afar off, approaching, the Great Goddess — raised the great zones which Anu made for their glory (that of the gods).(3) These gods, crystal-luminous before me, I will never forsake them; — on this day I prayed that forever I should not forsake them:— 'That the gods may come to my pyre of holocaust!— but that Bel may never come to my pyre of holocaust! — for he has not mastered himself, and has made the waterspout (of the deluge), — and has counted my men for the abyss.'

τόπον ὅπου καθίσαι in Alexander Polyhistor, and *ἀπορέονσαι ὅκη καθορμίσονται* in Abydenus, are exact translations of the expressions *manzazu ul ipaššu* in our original Chaldæan account. Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus speak of three sendings of birds, as does the Epopee of Uruk; but the circumstance of the last birds returning with their feet soiled with slime does not recur here.

(1) *Adagur;* this word, of Accadian origin, has a synonym, *sûtu*, in Fr. Lenormant's *Choix de textes Cunéiformes*, No. 82, B, l. 13, 14 (p. 208). It means, therefore, vase of the measure, called in Hebrew *sêah*, out of which the Greeks have made *σάτον*. The reference here is to a detail of the ritual rules for sacrifices.

(2) *bel niqî* is the Assyrian phrase corresponding with *ba'al hazübaḥ* of the Punic sacerdotal tariff of Marseilles and Carthage, "the master of the sacrifice," meaning he who offers the sacrifice.

(3) These metaphorical expressions might very easily mean the rainbow.

"From afar, in approaching, Bel—saw the vessel, and Bel stopped; he was filled with anger against the gods and the celestial archangels.—'No one shall come out of it alive! not a man shall be saved from the abyss!'—Adar opened his mouth and spake; he said to the warrior Bel:—'Who beside Êa could have made the resolve?—for Êa possesses knowledge and (he foresees) all.'—Êa opened his mouth and spake; he said to the warrior Bel:—'O thou, herald of the gods, warrior,—as thou hast not mastered thyself, thou hast made the waterspout (of the deluge).—Leave the sinner to carry the burden of his sin, the blasphemer the burden of his blasphemy.—Comply with this good pleasure, and it will never be infringed; faith never [concerning it will be violated.]—Instead of making a (new) deluge, let the lions appear, and let them reduce the number of men; instead of making a (new) deluge, let the hyenas appear, and let them reduce the number of men;—instead of making a (new) deluge, let there be famine, and let the earth be [devastated];—instead of making a (new) deluge, let Dibbarra (the god of epidemic diseases) appear, and let men be [mown down].(1)—

(1) For the Chaldæo-Babylonians, as for the Hebrews, famines and epidemics were visitations of the divine anger, provoked by the sins of men. Long legends were related regarding certain of these scourges that had desolated the world in a peculiarly terrible way in the olden times; but subsequently to the deluge, agreeably to the decree of Êa, accepted by Bel, which ordered that this punishment alone should henceforth be used instead of a cataclysm to lead mankind to repentance. Such is the beautiful account, translated by George Smith (*Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, chap. viii.), of the exploits of Dibbarra, a form of the god Adar

(*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 54, l. 67), who presides especially over pestilences. In fulfilling the mission which the superior gods had confided to him, Dibbarra traversed the earth, striking men with his scourge, like the angel in the Bible, described in 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 13–16, and in 2 *Kings* xix. 35. His companions and ministers are Ishu, the fire of fever personified, and "seven warrior gods." In the poem, the fragments of which have been discovered by G. Smith, and which included no less than five cantos or tablets, Anu and Êa are the gods who send Dibbarra to carry his scourge through the world, to take vengeance on a state of corruption which had reached the highest pitch. In the fourth tablet, the only one in which we still find a certain degree of continuity in the text, we find Babylon depopulated by him because it had been guilty of an unjust and oppressive war, and likewise Larsa, the city of the Sun-god, and Uruk, where Anu and Ishtar reign, while he spares the city of Kalû, on the prayer of its protecting deity, owing to the righteousness of its inhabitants; finally reaching Kuti, which he devastates. There he stops, prophesies intestine wars which will decimate all the neighboring nations, will arm Assyrian against Assyrian, Elamite against Elamite, Cissian against Cissian, but through which the people of Akkad will be preserved, and at length be able to repair in peace the disasters of the scourge to which they have been subjected, and extend their power afar. Finally, from Kuti, Dibbarra sends Ishu into Syria (*Aḫarru*) to ravage that country in its turn. This account recalls the great mythological plagues of the Greeks, such as the one which destroyed the Ectenes of Bœotia (Pausan., ix., 5, 1) and that which Abaris healed (Suid. and Harpocrat., v., Ἄβαρις).

In another fragment of the legend (G. Smith, *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 154–156 [Rev. Ed., pp. 156–158. Tr.]), which belongs also to the cycle of the mythical history of Babylonia, there is reference to a drought which Anu, Bel, and Êa call down to punish the sins of men, not allowing Ramman to cause rain to fall from heaven, so that a famine results. This account, at least in the fundamental idea which inspires it, manifests a strong analogy with the idea of the seventeenth and eighteenth chapters of the first book of *Kings*, where the impiety of Aḫâb is punished by a drought of several years' duration, the cessation of which is obtained by the inter-

cession of the prophet Êliyâh, as a miracle, proving the power of Yahveh against the worshipers of Ba'al. In the Chaldæo-Babylonian legend it appears that the prayers of the righteous Atarpi gained favor for mankind from the gods, and brought down the rain once more. Eacus plays the same part in the traditions of Egina (Diod. Sic., iv., 72; Apollodor., iii., 12, 6; Pausan., ii., 30, 4), and Aristæus in those of Ceos (Apollon. Rhod., *Argonaut.*, ii., v. 498, etc.; Schol., *a. h. l.;* Hygin., *Poët. astron.*, ii., 4), these fables being properly parallel with that which G. Smith discovered at Babylon.

We know of no particulars in regard to the ravages of wild beasts. The excessive multiplication of these animals, induced by different circumstances, was one of the scourges which afflicted the inhabitants of Chaldæa and Babylonia. Astrological prognostications sometimes foretold them in connection with certain positions of the stars (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia,* vol. III., pl. 51, iv., l. 2; 54, 5, l. 12; 58, 9, l. 7 and 8; 60, l. 115). This was also looked upon as a chastisement of divine anger. Comp., in the Bible, the lion which slays the prophet who failed faithfully to obey the command of Yahveh (1 *Kings* xiii. 19–30), and the children of Bêthêl torn by bears for having mocked Elîshâ' (2 *Kings* ii. 23 and 24).

Later astrological speculations, such as Berossus set forth to the Greeks in his books on this pseudo-science, subsequently forged a system absolutely analogous to that of the *Manvantaras* of the Hindus, which was, however, unknown to the Chaldæans of a remote antiquity, and did away completely with all the moral significance of the Deluge, ignoring Êa's decree, according to which no such cataclysm should ever again take place. In this system the destruction and renovation of the world become periodic, and are the fatalistic results of sidereal revolutions. Everything that exists on the earth must be alternately destroyed by a conflagration and by a deluge, the former when the sun, moon, and five planets are all together in the sign of Cancer, the latter when their conjunction takes place in Capricornus (Seneca, *Natur. quaest.*, iii. 29). So far we have no reason for supposing that the Chaldæo-Babylonians, in their accounts of mythologic times, had any knowledge of a conflagration similar to the one caused by the imprudent conduct of Phaëthon in the Greek fable, and which occasioned the destruction of the earliest men (Philostr.,

I have not revealed the decision of the great gods.—It is Ḫasisatra who interpreted a dream and understood that which the gods resolved upon.'

"Then, when his resolve was arrested, Bel entered the vessel;—he took my hand and caused me to rise.—He caused my wife also to rise, and caused her to be set at my side.—He turned round us and stopped still; he approached our group.—'Until now, Ḫasisatra has been one of a perishing human race;—but behold now Ḫasisatra and his wife are about to be raised up to live like the gods,—and Ḫasisatra shall dwell far away, at the mouth of the rivers.'——They carried me away and fixed my dwelling in a distant place, at the mouth of the rivers."

This narrative follows very accurately the course of that, or rather of those, of *Genesis*, and from beginning to end the analogies are most striking. It is

Heroic. prooem., 3, p. 667, ed. Olear.), according to some, or, as others thought, was combined with the deluge of Deucalion to bring about this result (Hygin., *Fab.*, 152). Sayce (*Records of the Past*, vol. XI., pp. 115–118 [cf. Smith's *Chald. Gen.*, Rev. Ed., pp. 172–174. Tr.]) thinks he recognizes in the catastrophe described in the first part of the magic hymn in the *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia* (vol. IV., pl. 19, 1) a destruction of the city by fire from heaven, like that of Sodom and Gomorrah in the nineteenth chapter of *Genesis*. The conjecture is ingenious, but rests upon a very frail foundation, for the expressions of the text are too vague, too uncertain, and in some parts too contradictory to enable one to decide positively whether it is an inundation or a rain of fire to which they refer. It would be even possible to find in the poetic fragment an allusion to the Deluge, as does George Smith (*Trans. of the Society of Bibl. Archæology*, vol. I., p. 89; cf. Fr. Lonormant, *Les premières civilisations*, vol. II., p. 38).

known — has been long since critically demonstrated — that chapters vi., vii., viii. and ix. of *Genesis* offer us two different narratives of the Deluge, one taken from the Elohist, the other from the Jehovist document, the two being skilfully combined by the final editor. Respecting their text, which he evidently regarded as sacred, he has omitted nothing from either document; the consequence being that all the circumstances are twice related in different words, and it is easy to separate one account from the other, each one giving a continuous, uninterrupted narrative, in spite of the manner in which the respective verses are interlaced. Bickell (1) and the Abbé Vigouroux (2) have fancied recently that as far as the accounts of the Creation and the Deluge are concerned, the cuneiform documents have disproved the fact of the distinction between the two sources of *Genesis*, proving the primitive unity of its redaction; that in fact the same repetitions may be found in the cuneiform documents. This was, however, drawing a premature conclusion from translations still very imperfect, which demanded a thorough revision; and confining ourselves now to the part which concerns the account of the Deluge, this revision, carried out according to strict philological principles, annihilates the arguments which it was supposed could be drawn from George Smith's version.(3) None of the

(1) *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 1877, pp. 129–131.

(2) *La Bible et les découvertes modernes*, 2d Ed., vol. I., pp. 165, 190 and 251–254.

(3) The most striking example is that of col. ii., l. 30–34, of the cuneiform document, where it was supposed might be found a

repetitions of the final text of *Genesis* can be found in the Chaldæan poem; on the contrary, it has confirmed in a decisive manner the distinction between the two accounts, Elohist and Jehovist, cast together by the last redactor of the *Pentateuch.* Taking each account separately and parallelizing them, the Chaldæan narrative is found to agree with each one individually in every step of its course, and not with the result of their union. It is easy to prove this by making the comparison between the three narratives in the manner following:

first mention of the coming of the Deluge, before the reference to the final entrance into the ark, like that in *Genesis* vii. 10–12, which precedes 13–16. But this was owing to an error, which caused Smith [*Chald. Gen.*, p. 267; corrected in Rev. Ed., by Sayce, p. 283. Tr.] to translate as "deluge" a well-known word, *adannu*, "time fixed, calculated, determined," corresponding to the Aramaic *'îddân*, Syriac *'êdon.*

Epopee of Uruk.(1)	Genesis. Jehovist Document.	Genesis. Elohist Document.
I., 11–16.	VI., 5–8.	VI., 11–12
I., 17–23.	VII., 1.	VI., 13–14.
I., 24–27.		VI., 15–16.
I., 28–35.		
I., 36–38.	VII., 4.	VI., 17–18.
I., 39–44.	VII., 2–3.	VI., 19–21.
I., 45–52.		
II., 2–24.	VII., 5.	VI., 22.
II., 25–34.	VII., 7–9.	VII., 6; 11–16.
II., 35–39.	VII., 16 *b*.	
II., 40–50.	VII., 10; 12; 17.	VII., 18–20.
III., 1–4.	VII., 23.	VII., 21–22.
III., 5–18.		
III., 19–20.		VII., 24.
III., 21–23.	VIII., 2 *b; 3 a*.	VIII., 1; 2 *a;* 3 *b*.
III., 24–31.		
III., 32–36.		VIII., 4.
III., 37–44.	VIII., 6–12.	(VIII., 5; 13 *a;* 14 replaces this with a very different account, which does not contain the story of the birds.)
		VIII., 15–17.
III., 45 *a*.	VIII., 13 *b*.	VIII., 18–19.
III., 45 *b*–50.	VIII., 20.	
		IX., 1–11.
III., 51–52.		IX., 12–16.
		IX 17.
III., 53.		
IV., 1–11.		
IV., 12–20.	VIII., 21–22.	
IV., 21–22.		
IV., 23–30.		

(1) The figures which we give here indicate the columns and the lines of the cuneiform tablet, as found in the transcription and interlinear translation of it in appendix V.

The table, as I believe, very accurately represents the conformities and differences between the three narrations; that which they have in common and that which in each one is by way of peculiar coloring to the original picture. These are evidently three versions of the same traditional history; and among the Chaldæo-Babylonians on the one hand and the Hebrews on the other, we have manifestly two parallel streams issuing from an identical source. Nevertheless, it would be as well to note divergences of some importance on either side, proving that the stream of tradition was sundered in two at a very early epoch, and that the one which we find presented in the Bible is something more than an edition of the account preserved by the Chaldæan priesthood, expurgated on strict monotheistic principles.

The Biblical narrative bears the stamp of an inland nation, ignorant of things appertaining to navigation. In *Genesis* the name of the Ark, *Têbâh*, signifies "chest," and not "vessel;" and there is nothing said about launching the ark on the water; no mention either of the sea, or of navigation; or any pilot. In the Epopee of Uruk, on the other hand, everything indicates that it was composed among a maritime people; each circumstance reflects the manners and customs of the dwellers on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Ḫasisatra goes on board a vessel, distinctly alluded to by its appropriate appellation; this ship is launched and makes a trial-trip to test it; all its chinks are caulked with bitumen, and it is placed under the charge of a pilot.

The Chaldæo-Babylonian narrative represents

Ḫasisatra as a king, who goes on board his vessel surrounded by a whole retinue of servants and companions; in the Bible none are saved but the family of Nôaḥ.(1) The new human race all spring from the three sons of the patriarch. There is not a trace in the Chaldæan poem of the distinction — peculiar, by the way, to the Jehovist document of the Bible— of clean and unclean animals, or of the number of seven pair for each species of the former, although in Babylonia the number seven had a distinctly sacramental character.

As regards the dimensions of the ark, we find a disagreement, not only between the Bible and the tablet copied by order of Asshur-bani-abal, but between this tablet and Berossus. *Genesis* and the cuneiform document give the dimensions of the ark in cubits; Berossus reckons them in stadii. *Genesis* puts the ciphers of length and of breadth in the proportion of 6 to 1, Berossus of 5 to 2, the tablet in the British Museum of 10 to 1. On the other hand, the fragments of Berossus make no mention of the proportion of the dimensions of height and breadth, and the tablet says that these dimensions were equal,

(1) In the *Qorân*, which has evidently borrowed its account of the Deluge from popular sources, Nouḥ obtains permission from Allah that not only his family, but the few men who believe in his predictions, shall enter the ark with him (lxxi. 29). And in another place, God says, "We saved thus all those who were with him in a vessel completely filled up" (xxvi. 119). The orthodox Mussulman interpreters say that besides Nouḥ, his wife, his three sons and their wives, there were likewise in the vessel 72 persons, servants and friends, in all 80 (D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, article *Nouh*).

while the Bible speaks of 30 cubits of height and 50 of breadth. But these differences in figures have only a secondary importance; it is precisely in such matters that alterations and variations between the different editions of the same story are most quickly introduced. It should be remarked, moreover, that in *Genesis* the Elohist version only, with its usual fondness for figures, gives the dimensions of the ark, while the Jehovist alone speaks of the sending forth of the birds, an episode of considerable importance in the Chaldæan tradition. As to the variations which distinguish the narration of the Bible from that of the poem of Uruk at this point, the last, which adds the swallow to the dove and the raven, and does not make the dove the messenger of good news, are not of serious importance, to my thinking, and the essential agreement is more striking in every way than are the variations, as it seems to me.

But a most important feature is the absolute disagreement, regarding the duration of the Deluge, between the Elohist and Jehovist versions, as well as between both these versions and the Chaldæo-Babylonian narrative, where we have the manifest trace of different systems applied to the ancient tradition of the calendrical conceptions, which are not alike in any of the three sources, although every one appears to have originated in Chaldæa.

In the Elohist account, the epochs of the Deluge are indicated by the numbers of the order of the months; but these numbers of order refer to a lunar year beginning on the 1st of Tishrî (September-

October), at the autumnal equinox.(1) This has been recognized by Josephus,(2) and Michaëlis,(3) among the moderns, seems to me to have definitely settled the point.(4) The rain begins to fall, and Nôaḥ enters into the ark on the 17th day of the second month, which is Marḥeshvân. The full force of the waters lasts 150 days, and on the 17th of the seventh

(1) St. Jerome (*In Ezekiel* viii. 1; *Oper. omn.*, vol. III., p. 199) bears witness to the fact that the custom of beginning the year with the autumnal equinox was general among the people of Syria. In fact, the Syriac calendar opens with the month Teshrîn I. (see the second table of appendix IV., at the end of this volume). The *ḥâg*, or festival, in connection with a pilgrimage, which gave its name to the corresponding month in the calendar of Heliopolis in Cœlosyria, was evidently a festival of the new year, like the *rôsh-hâshanâh*, fixed at the same epoch, instituted by the Jews about the time of the Seleucides (Munk, *Réflexions sur le culte des anciens Hébreux*, p. 55).

The Feast of Tabernacles, which took place on the 15th of the seventh month, is mentioned as the festival of the end of the year in *Exod.* xxiii. 16 and xxxiv. 22. The Hebrews before the Captivity had therefore a secular year, beginning in the autumn, parallel with the religious year, beginning with the vernal equinox, the establishment of which was attributed to Môsheh, and regarded as having taken place immediately after the Exodus (*Exod.* xii. 2).

(2) *Antiq. Jud.*, i., 3, 3; this is also acknowledged by the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan, and is besides the opinion of Raschi and Kimchi.

(3) *Commentationes*, p. 39 et seq.; also Knobel, *Die Genesis*, 2d Ed., p. 79 et seq. [cf. 3d Ed., by Dillmann, p. 142 et seq. Tr.]

(4) Nevertheless, Tuch (*Kommentar über die Genesis*, p. 150 et seq. [2d Ed., by Arnold and Merx, p. 118 et seq. Tr.]), Ewald (*Jahrbucher der bibl. Wissenschaft*, vol. VII., p. 8 et seq.), Lepsius (*Chronol. der Egypter*, p. 226 et seq.), and Schrader (*Stud. z. krit. u. Erkl. d. bibl. Urgeschichte*, p. 151), erroneously, as I think, consider that we have to do with a year beginning on the 1st Nisan, with the vernal equinox.

month, or Nîsân (March-April), the ark comes to a stand-still on Mount Arârât. The 1st day of the tenth month, or Tammûz (June-July), near the time of the summer solstice, the mountains are bare. The 1st day of the first month of the following year, or Tishrî, at the autumnal equinox, the waters have entirely disappeared from the land, and Nôaḥ comes forth from the ark on the 27th day of the second month. The Deluge has thus lasted altogether one lunar year, plus eleven days, or, as Ewald(1) has correctly remarked, one solar year of 365 days. In the climatic conditions of Babylonia and Assyria,(2) the rains of the later autumn commence toward the end of November, when the water-level of the Euphrates and Tigris begins immediately to rise. The periodic overflow of the two rivers takes place in the middle of March, and attains its culminating point at the end of May. This being reached, the fall of the waters begins and continues constantly. By the end of June the waters have left the plains, and from August to November they stand at their lowest level. The epochs of the Deluge, according to the Elohist version, as we have just arranged them after Michaëlis and Knobel, agree very well with these phases of the increase and decrease of the two rivers of Mesopotamia. They agree even better in the primitive system upon which the Elohist formed his own, and which has been ingeniously restored by Schrader,(3)

(1) *Jahrb. d. biblisch. Wissenschaft*, vol. VII., p. 9.

(2) Ritter, *Erdkunde, Asien*, vol. X., p. 1023 et seq.; vol. XI., p. 1019.

(3) *Studien zur Kritik und Erklær. der bibl. Urgeschichte*, p. 150.

this system attributing 300 days in all or 10 months to the duration of the Deluge, 150 days for it to reach the fullness of its strength and 150 for its decrease. In this system, the departure from the ark took place on the 1st day of the 601st year of Nôaḥ's life, or the 1st of Tishrî, at the autumnal equinox. And in this way the deliverance of the father of the new human race, as well as the compact of God with him and his children, took place on the very day which a very ancient opinion, already referred to in our sixth chapter, and still held among the Jews, maintained to be that of the Creation of the world. As to the beginning of the Deluge, it occurred, according to this system, on the 1st day of the third month, or at the commencement of that lunation the end of which coincided with the entrance of the sun into the sign of Capricornus, when the planetary conjunctions caused periodic floods, according to an astrological notion of Chaldæan origin,(1) which, though apparently not very ancient, must have been originally suggested by the figures adopted in some of the sacerdotal schools of Babylon for the epoch of the cataclysm.

The calendrical construction which connected the kings or antediluvian patriarchs with the solar mansions, and is followed by the Epic of Uruk, also makes the beginning of the Deluge coincide with the winter rains, and not with the rise of the Euphrates and Tigris in the spring, assigning the period of the cataclysm to the month of Shabaṭ (January-February),

(1) Seneca, *Natur. quaest.*, III., 29.

and placing it in the sign of Aquarius. I should be very reluctant to admit the exactness of the date—15th of Daisios—given according to Berossus as that of the Deluge, in the extract of Alexander Polyhistor; for that would make the Deluge fall in the middle of the Assyrian month Sivan, at the beginning of July, in a season of absolute drought, just when the rivers have fallen to their very lowest level. It seems to me that there is an evident error here, not attributable to the author of the Chaldæan history himself, but to the writer who made extracts from his text. Berossus must have written *μηνὸς ὀγδόου πέμπτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ*, "the 15th of the eighth month," translating into Greek the name of the Assyrian month Araḫ-shamna; and by a mistake easily accounted for, Cornelius Alexander may have made Daisios out of it, that being the eighth month in the Syro-Macedonian calendar, forgetting the difference between the beginning of this year and of the Chaldæo-Assyrian year. In reality, then, Berossus' original date need not necessarily have deviated by more than two days (from the 15th to the 17th) from that adopted by the Elohist redactor of *Genesis*. Moreover, Knobel (1) dwells, and with reason, on this point, that placing the beginning of the Deluge at the 15th or 17th day of a month would always bring it at the full of the moon; this phase of the orb of night being associated, in the popular belief of Egypt and Mesopotamia, with the periodic rise of the Nile, Euphrates and Tigris.

The Jehovist system is entirely different. Accord-

(1) *Die Genesis*, 2d Ed., p. 80. [But cf. 3d Ed., by Dillmann, p. 143. Tr.]

ing to that, Yahveh informs Nôaḥ of the coming of the Deluge only seven days beforehand. The waters last in their strength forty days, and are falling for another forty.(1) After this period of eighty days, Nôaḥ sends the three birds out at intervals of seven days, thus making it the twenty-first day, after having opened his window for the first time, before he goes forth from the ark and offers his sacrifice to the Eternal.(2) Here, then, the phases of the cataclysm

(1) We follow the interpretation of Hupfeld (*Die Quellen der Genesis*, p. 135 et seq.), rather than that of Schrader (*Studien zur Kritik und Erklærung der biblischen Urgeschichte*, p. 152 et seq.), which declines to admit a duration of more than forty days in all in the text.

(2) The manner in which the final editor of *Genesis* has combined the verses of the Elohist and Jehovist versions, was, to a great extent, owing to the desire to make the figures of the second fit into the frame made by the epochs of the first, by adopting the following construction:

The Deluge begins the 17th of the 2d month (adopted from the Elohist) . . .	17th of Marḫeshvân;
at the end of 40 days (figure borrowed from the Jehovist), the waters of the Deluge have reached their greatest height, and the ark floats thereupon . .	towards the beginning of the month of Têbêth.
The strength of the cataclysm lasts in all 150 days (figure adopted from the Elohist), including the 40 days above, and on the 17th of the 7th month the ark is grounded upon the top of Arârât . . .	17th of Nîsân.
The 1st of the 10th month (Elohist source) the mountains emerge	1st of Tammûz.
After 40 days (figure borrowed from the Jehovist source), Nôaḥ opens the window of the ark and sends forth the first bird	10th of Âb;

are evidently calculated upon the phases of the annual overflow of the Tigris and Euphrates, in the spring, to such an extent, indeed, that one can have no hesitation in referring the origin of the form itself to the tradition as received by the Jehovist writer at the cradle of the race of Teraḥ, in Chaldæa. The inundation of the two Mesopotamian rivers lasts in fact 75 days on the average, from the middle of March to the end of May, and 26 days after, or at the end of 101 days in all ($80 + 21 = 75 + 26 = 101$), the period when the Jehovist writer makes Nôaḥ leave the ark, the inundated fields have become again entirely accessible.

But the feature which bears the most decided mark of a Chaldæan origin, in the Jehovist account of the Deluge, is the prominence given to septenary periods, there being seven days between the announcement of the Deluge and its beginning, and seven days between each sending forth of the birds. As we have already remarked, the religious and mystical impor-

21 days later, the dove returns for the last time, bringing the olive leaf (Jehovist source)	1st of Elûl.
On the 1st day of the 1st month of the following year (Elohist source), that is, a little more than 150 days after the waters have begun to fall, Nôaḥ becomes aware that they have gone down and that the earth is bare, but not in a habitable condition	1st of Tishrî.
He waits 57 days longer, that the soil may have time to harden, and goes forth from the ark on the 27th of the 2d month (Elohist source)	27th of Marḥeshvân.

tance attributed to the heptad, the point of departure for the conception of the seven days of the Creation and of the invention of the week, is essentially of Chaldæan origin. We can trace its beginning among the Chaldæo-Babylonians, and can certify to very numerous applications of it among them. The story of Ḫasisatra in the poem of Uruk is carried on continuously by hebdomads. The violence of the Deluge, in this account, lasts seven days; seven days likewise does the vessel rest on the mountain of Nizir, when the waters begin to fall. It is true, indeed, that the building of the vessel takes eight days instead of seven; but then the time necessary for the embarkation of provisions, animals and passengers should be considered, so that the entire length of time consumed in Ḫasisatra's preparations, beginning with the vision sent him by Êa and concluding with the moment that he closes in the vessel at the approach of evening, when the rain is about to begin, can be stated at fourteen days or two hebdomads. This conceded, if the poem does not determine the intervals of time between the three sendings forth of the birds, there is no objection to applying at this point the figures of the Jehovist document of *Genesis*, counting seven days from the first to the second sending, seven days from the second to the third, and finally seven days from the departure of the bird, which returns no more, until the vessel is deserted. The entire interval between the announcement of the Deluge by Êa and the sacrifice of Ḫasisatra is thus found to include seven hebdomads, a number evidently used with a purpose and

predetermination. And the entire duration of the Deluge is exactly double this time in the account of the sacred writer, author of the Jehovist document—$7 \times 2 \times 7$, instead of 7×7, or 14 hebdomads, with an excess of only three days, owing to the fact that the author used the round number of $40 + 40 = 80$ days, instead of the exact number of 77, or 11 hebdomads $(7 + 4 \times 7)$, in indicating the interval between the beginning of the diluvian rain and the sending forth of the first bird. If we furthermore reckon the interval which he gives between the announcement of the cataclysm by Yahveh and its beginning, it will be found that the figures of the Jehovist author amount in all to $7 \times 2 \times 7 + 7$ days, and those of the system of the Chaldæan poem to 7×7. Thus we have all the way through, in either case, combinations of the septenary number.

But when it comes to relating the ultimate fate of the righteous man saved from the cataclysm, the Chaldæo-Babylonian epic story and the Biblical account exhibit the most complete divergence. Nôaḥ lives 350 years longer among his descendants, and dies at the age of 950 years, according to Elohist figures. Ḫasisatra receives the gift of immortality; he is taken away "to live like the gods," and carried "to a distant spot," whither the hero of Uruk goes to visit him, in order to learn the secrets of life and of death. But the Bible relates something similar to this regarding the great-grandfather of Nôaḥ: "Ḥanôk walked with God, and he was no more, for God took him."(1) Thus the Babylonian

(1) *Genes.* v., 24.

tradition unites in the person of Hasisatra the facts distributed in the Bible between Ḥanôk and Nôaḥ, the two individuals whom the sacred Book equally characterizes as having "walked with God."(1)

The author of the treatise *On the Syrian Goddess,* erroneously attributed to Lucian, has preserved for us the diluvian tradition of the Aramæans, the direct offspring of that of Chaldæa, as related in the famous sanctuary of Hierapolis or Bambyce.

"The majority of the people," says he,(2) "relate that the founder of the temple was Deucalion-Sisythes, the same Deucalion under whom occurred the great inundation. I have also heard the account which the Greeks likewise give of Deucalion; the myth is thus conceived: The present race of men is not the first; for there was formerly another, all the men of which have perished. We come of a second race, which decends from Deucalion, and has multiplied in the course of time. As to the first men, it is said that they were full of pride and insolence, and that they committed many crimes, not keeping their oaths, not exercising the laws of hospitality, not sparing suppliants; therefore they were punished by a tremendous disaster. Suddenly vast masses of water burst forth from the earth, and rains of an extraordinary abundance began to fall; rivers flowed outside their beds, and the sea overpassed its bounds; everything was covered with water, and all mankind perished. Deucalion alone was preserved

(1) For Ḥanôk see again *Genes.* v., 24; for Nôaḥ, *Genes.* vi., 9.

(2) *De Dea Syr.*, 12 and 13.

alive, that he might give birth to a new race, by reason of his virtue and his piety. This is the way in which he was preserved: He placed himself, with his children and his wives, in a great chest, which he had, and whither there came, to take refuge with him, swine, horses, lions, serpents and all other terrestrial animals. He took them all in unto himself; and all the while that they were in the chest, Zeus inspired these animals with a reciprocal friendship, which prevented them from devouring each other. In this manner, shut up in a single chest, they floated as long as the waters were in their strength. Such is the Greek account of Deucalion.

"But in addition to this tale, which is also related among them, the people of Hierapolis tell a marvelous story, to the effect that in their country there was opened an enormous chasm, which swallowed up all the waters of the flood. Then Deucalion raised an altar and dedicated a temple to Hera ('Athar-'athê= Atargatis) near this very chasm. I have seen this chasm, which is very narrow and located beneath the temple. Whether it was larger beforetime, and is now contracted, I know not; but I have seen it, and it is quite small. In memory of the circumstance which is related, they perform the following rite: Twice a year the water of the sea is brought into the temple. Not only the priests carry it in, but a multitude of pilgrims come from every part of Syria, from Arabia and even from beyond the Euphrates, bearing water. They pour it out in the temple, and it runs down into the chasm, which, notwithstanding its smallness, swallows up in this way no inconsiderable quantity.

It is said that this is done in consequence of a religious command given by Deucalion to preserve the memory of the catastrophe and of the benefit received by him from the gods. Such is the ancient tradition of the temple."(1)

India likewise furnishes us with an account of the deluge, which has a very strong affinity with that of the Bible, as well as the Chaldæan narrative. The

(1) St. Melito, in his Apology, addressed to Marcus Aurelius, part of which has been preserved to us in the Syriac translation, gives an entirely different legend in regard to this chasm in the temple of Hierapolis, and the ceremony of the solemn outpouring of water.

"Concerning Nebo, who is at Mabug," he says, "why should I write of him to you? All the priests of Mabug know that it is the statue of Orpheus, Magian of Thrace. Hadran is likewise the statue of Zaradusht (Zoroaster), the Persian Magian. These two magi practised their enchantments on a well, situated in the forest of Mabug, in which dwelt an impure spirit, that molested and attacked all those who passsed by the spot where now the citadel of Mabug is built. These magi commanded Simi, daughter of Hadad, to draw water from the sea, and to empty it in the well, so that the spirit might no longer come out of it to molest the country, in accordance with the secrets of their magic" (*Spiceleg. Solesmense*, vol. II., p. xliv.; Renan, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, new series, vol. XXIII., 2d Part, p. 325).

On the other hand, it is impossible not to recognize an echo of these fables, popular in all Semitic countries, about the chasm of Hierapolis, and the part assigned to it in the Deluge, in the enigmatic expressions of the *Qorân* in regard to the oven, *tannur*, which began to boil and throw up water that spread about everywhere, and then the Deluge began (xi. 42; xxiii. 27). We know that this *tannur* suggested the most bizarre fancies to the Mussulman commentators, who had lost the tradition of the history to which the prophet thus alluded. However, in another part of the *Qorân* it is distinctly said that the waters of the Deluge were absorbed into the bosom of the earth.

oldest and most simple form of the story is found in the *Çatapatha Brâhmana,* the approximate date of which we have endeavored to indicate above.(1) This fragment was translated for the first time by Max Müller: (2)

"One morning water was brought to Manu(3) to wash with; and when he had washed, a fish remained in his hands; and it addressed these words to him: 'Protect me, and I will save thee.' 'From 'what wilt thou save me?'—'A deluge will carry off 'all creatures; it is that from which I will save thee.' 'How shall I protect thee?' The fish answered: 'So 'long as we are small, we live in great danger; for 'fish swallows fish; keep me at first in a vessel. 'When I am too large for that, hollow out a basin to 'put me in. When I have become still larger, carry 'me to the Ocean. Then I shall be preserved from 'destruction.' Very soon it grew to be a large fish. It said to Manu: 'In the very year when I shall 'have attained my full growth the deluge will over- 'take us. Build then a vessel and worship me. 'When the waters rise, enter into this vessel, and I 'will save thee.'

"After having thus kept him, Manu carried the fish to the Ocean. In the year which it had indi-

(1) P. 62.

(2) *Sanskrit Literature,* p. 425. See also Weber, *Indische Studien,* vol. I., p. 161; Muir, *Sanskrit Texts,* vol. II., p. 324. [2d Ed., 1872, vol. I., p. 181 et seq. Tr.]

(3) Manu Vâivasvata, the type and ancestor of mankind in the Indian legends. We shall recur to this personage in our tenth chapter.

cated, Manu built a vessel, and worshiped the fish; and when the deluge came he entered into the vessel. Then the fish came swimming toward him, and Manu fastened the cable of the vessel to the fish's horn, and by this means the fish caused him to pass over the Mountain of the North. The fish said: 'I 'have saved thee; fasten the vessel to a tree, that the 'water may not carry it away while thou art upon the 'mountain; as the waters fall, thou shalt descend.' Manu descended with the water, and that is called *the descent of Manu* on the Mountain of the North. The deluge had carried away every creature, and only Manu remained."

Coming next, in order of time and complexity of narrative, which goes on continually accumulating fantastic and parasitic features, is the version of the enormously long epic poem of the *Mahâbhârata*.(1) That of the poem entitled *Bhâgavata-Purâna* (2) is still more recent and more fabulous. Finally, the same tradition is made the subject of an entire poem, of very late date, the *Matsya-Purâna*, an analysis of which is given by the great English Hinduist, Wilson.(3)

In the preface of the third volume of his edition of the *Bhâgavata-Purâna*, the illustrious Eugène Burnouf has carefully compared the three accounts known at the time of his writing (that of the *Çata-patha Brâhmana* has since been discovered), in order

(1) *Vanaparva*, v. 12,746–12,804.

(2) Edition of Burnouf, vol. II., p. 177 of the text, 191 of the translation.

(3) Preface to the *Vishnu-Purâna*, p. li. [Ed. Murray, 1840.—Ed. Trübner, 1864 et seq., I., p. lxxxi. Tr.]

to throw light upon the question of the origin of the Hindu tradition of the deluge. He shows, in a discourse which deserves to be held up as a model of erudition, of subtlety and of critical acumen, that this tradition does not appear at all in the hymns of the Vêdas, which contain only remote allusions to the fact of the deluge, these allusions seeming, moreover, to refer to a totally different form of legend; also that this tradition was originally foreign to the system of the *manvantaras*, or periodic destructions of the world, which was Hindu in its very essence. He concludes therefrom that the tradition must have been imported into India subsequently to the adoption of this last system, which, however, is very ancient, since it is common to Brahmanism and to Buddhism. Hence he is disposed to regard it as a Semitic importation, occurring in historic times, not coming through *Genesis*, because its influence could hardly have been felt in India at so remote an epoch, but with greater probability through the Babylonian tradition.(1)

The discovery of an original edition of this last confirms the opinion of the illustrious Sanskrit scholar, whose name will live among the great lights of science in France. The dominant feature of the Indian account, holding a position of essential importance and making its distinctive characteristic, is the part assigned to a god who assumes the form of a

(1) Nève also admits the same thing: *La tradition indienne du Déluge dans sa forme la plus ancienne*, in *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 4th series, vol. III. (January-April, 1851) [whole No. vol. 42. Tr.]. Albrecht Weber (*Indische Studien*, vol. I., pp. 161–232), however, upholds the contrary theory.

fish in order to warn Manu, guide his ship and save him from the deluge. The nature of the metamorphosis is the only fundamental and primitive point, for the different versions vary in regard to the person of the god who takes this form. The *Brâhmana* specifies nothing; the *Mahâbhârata* makes him Brâhmâ, and for the editors of the *Purânas* he is Vishnu. The fact is all the more remarkable, since the metamorphosis into a fish, *matsyavatara*, remains an isolated instance in Hindu mythology, foreign to its habitual symbolism, and does not produce any ulterior development; there is no other trace to be found in India of the worship of fish, which assumed such importance and was so widespread among other ancient nations. Burnouf justly saw in this circumstance a mark of foreign importation and the chief indication of its Babylonian origin, for classic testimony, since confirmed by indigenous monuments, gave conclusive evidence that in the religion of Babylon the conception of ichthyomorphic gods, or gods in the form of fishes, played a more considerable part than in any other country. The part played by the divine fish with Manu, in the legend preserved in India, is similar to that of the god Êa, also called Shalman, "the saviour," in Ḫasisatra's case, in the narrative of the Epic of Uruk and in that of Berossus. This god, whose representative type is now known with certainty on the Assyrian and Babylonian monuments, is essentially the ichthyomorphic god,(1) his sacred image nearly always

(1) Fr. Lenormant, *La légende de Sémiramis,* p. 33 et seq.; *Les*

uniting the forms of fish and man. In the astronomical tablets there is frequent reference to the catasterism of the "Fish of Êa," which is doubtless the same as our sign of Pisces, since it presides over the month of Adar.(1) In accordance with the observations which we have had occasion to make in our sixth chapter, upon the origin and significance of the zodiacal signs among the Chaldæans, we should attribute to an assimilation of ideas, based upon the account of the deluge, the manner in which the sign of the fishes, originally of the "Fish of Êa," has been placed side by side with that of Aquarius, whose connection with the tradition of the cataclysm has been proved. In this there is evident allusion to the part of a saviour, which the people who invented the Zodiac attributed to the god Êa in the deluge, as well as to the conception of an ichthyomorphic nature, more particularly belonging to this phase of his character. Êa is, moreover,(2) the legislator Oannes of Berossus' fragments,(3) half man and half fish, whose face, resembling the description given by the author of the *Chaldæan History*, has been recognized in the sculptures of the Assyrian palaces,(4) and upon

premières civilisations, vol. II., p. 133; *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, p. 168. [*Chald. Magic*, p. 157 et seq. Tr.]

(1) *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 53, 2, l. 13 and 28.

(2) See Fr. Lenormant, *Magie und Wahrsagekunst*, pp. 376–378 [*Chald. Magic*, p. 157 et seq. Tr.]

(3) Fragments 1 and 10 of my edition.

(4) Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, new series, pl. vi.

the cylinders,(1) — the Euhadnes of Hyginus(2) and the Oes of Helladios.(3)

When two different nations are found to possess a similar legend with so special a point in common, which need not necessarily and naturally be referred to the original version of the story; when, moreover, this point is clearly associated with the mass of religious conceptions of one of these nations, but is isolated as regards the other, and foreign to the habits of its symbolism, an unvarying law of criticism forces us to conclude that the legend has been transmitted from one to the other in a form already fixed, thus constituting a foreign importation, superimposed on, though not confounded with, the genuinely national and distinctive traditions of the people who come into possession of this other tradition without having originated it.

It should be farther stated that in the *Purânas* it is no longer Manu Vâivasvata whom the divine fish saves from the deluge, but a different person, the King of the Dâsas, or fishermen, Satyavrata, "the man who loves justice and truth," bearing a striking resemblance to the Ḫasisatra of Chaldæan tradition. And the Purânic version of the legend of the deluge is not to be scorned, notwithstanding the recent date

(1) Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xvi., No. 7*a*; pl. xvii., Nos. 1, 3, 5 and 8.

(2) *Fab.*, 274.

(3) *Ap.* Phot. *Biblioth.*, 279, p. 1593 [ed. Bekker].

Oannes and Euhadnes are connected with an Accadian form, *Êakhan*, "Êa the fish;" Oes simply with Êa, as the Aos of Damascius (*De prim. princip.*, 125, p. 384, ed. Kopp).

of its redaction, or the fantastic and often almost childish details with which its narrative is overloaded. In some respects it is less Aryanized than the version of the *Brâhmana* or the *Mahâbhârata;* above all, it gives us some facts omitted in former versions, which must doubtless have appertained to the primitive record, since they are found again in the Babylonian legend, and were undoubtedly preserved in the oral tradition, popular and not Brahmanic, with which the *Purânas* are so deeply imbued. This has already been noticed by Pictet,(1) who lays stress, and with reason, upon the following point in the redaction of the *Bhâgavata-Purâna:* "*In seven days*, said Vishnu to Satyavrata, the three worlds will be submerged by the ocean of destruction." There is nothing like it in the *Brâhmana*, nor in the *Mahâbhârata;* but we find in *Genesis*(2) that the Eternal says to Nôaḥ: "In seven days I will cause it to rain over all the earth;" and a little farther on, again: "At the end of seven days, the waters of the deluge were over all the earth."(3) And we have just proved the important part played by the successive hebdomadal periods in the system of the duration of the Deluge, adopted by the author of the Jehovist document included in *Genesis*, as well as in the system adopted by the editor of the Epopee of Uruk. The commands received by Satyavrata from the god incarnate as a fish, to deposit the sacred writings in a safe place, so as to put them beyond the power of

(1) *Les origines indo-européennes*, vol. II., p. 616.

(2) vii. 4.

(3) *Genes.* vii. 10.

Hayagrîva, the sea-horse, who dwells in the abysses as recorded in the *Bhâgavata-Purâna,* are no less deserving of attention, nor is the battle of the god against Hayagrîva, who has stolen the Vêdas, and thus occasioned the cataclysm by disturbing the order of the world. This, again, is a circumstance omitted in the most ancient versions even of the *Mahâbhârata,* but it is of prime importance, and cannot be regarded as a spontaneous product of the soil of India, for it is difficult to ignore under its Hindu guise the exact counterpart of the tradition of the concealment of the sacred writings at Sippara by Ḫasisatra, as given in the version of the fragments of Berossus.

It was, then, the Chaldæan form of the tradition of the deluge which the Hindus adopted, in consequence of an intercourse which the commercial relations between the two countries renders historically quite natural—a form which they subsequently developed in accordance with the peculiar exuberance of their imagination. They may have adopted this Chaldæan narrative with all the more facility because it assimilated with a tradition which, under a slightly different form, had been brought by their ancestors from the primitive cradle of the Aryan race. It is quite impossible to doubt that a recollection of the deluge made a part of the original stratum of legends held by this great race regarding the beginnings of the world, for if the Hindus accepted the form of the narrative of Chaldæa, so closely resembling that of the account in *Genesis,* all the other branches of the Aryan race appear in possession of

entirely original versions of the story of the cataclysm, which assuredly cannot have been borrowed either from Babylon or from the Hebrews.

Among the Iranians we find in the sacred books which form the basis of the Zoroastrian doctrine, and date back to a very remote antiquity, a tradition in which we are obliged to recognize, with entire certainty, a variation of that of the Deluge, but which is invested with quite a special character, and deviates in certain essential features from those which we have so far examined.(1) This tradition tells us how Yima, who, in his original and primitive conception, was father of the human race, was warned by Ahuramazda, the good god, of the fact that the earth was to be destroyed by a devastating flood. The god commanded him to build a refuge, a garden in the form of a square, *vara*, protected by an inclosure, and to cause to be placed therein the germs of men, of animals and of plants, in order to preserve them from extermination. In fact, when the flood came, the garden of Yima alone was spared, with all that it contained; and the announcement of its safety was brought thither by the bird Karshipta, sent by Ahuramazda.(2)

An account, found complete only in the Pehlevi *Bundehesh*,(3) has, as I think, been erroneously compared with the Biblical and Chaldæan Deluge; however, as older books contain direct and distinct

(1) In regard to this story, see Windischmann, *Ursagen arischer Vœlker*, p. 4 et seq.; Kossowicz, *Decem Zendavestae excerpta*, p. 151; C. de Harlez, *Avesta*, vol. I., p. 91 et seq.

(2) *Vendidâd*, ii. 46 et seq.

(3) Chapter vii.

allusions to some facts related in it,[1] it must be regarded as dating back very much farther than does the redaction of this work, which, as we have already stated, is quite recent. Ahuramazda decides to exterminate the Khrafçtras, or malevolent beings created by Angrômainyus, the spirit of evil. Tistrya, the genius of the star Sirius, therefore descends to earth by his command, and, assuming a man's form, causes it to rain for ten days. The waters cover the earth, and all the malevolent creatures are drowned. A violent wind dries the earth; but there remain in it some germs of these creatures of the evil spirit, who may reappear. Tistrya descends again, under the form of a white horse, and produces a second deluge by making it rain ten days longer. To keep him from accomplishing his work, the demon Apaosha assumes the appearance of a black horse, and comes to fight against him; but he is struck by a thunderbolt by Ahuramazda, together with the demon Çpendjaghra, who has come to his assistance. Finally, to complete the destruction, Tistrya, this time in the form of a bull, causes it to rain ten days more; thus bringing about a third deluge, following upon which the waters divide, making the four great and the twenty-three small seas. All this refers to a cosmogonic act anterior to the creation of man. The Khrafçtras, from whose presence Tistrya undertakes to purify the earth, are vicious and venomous animals of Angrômainyus' creation, such as scorpions, lizards, toads, serpents, rats, etc., whose destruction

(1) See especially *Yesht*, viii. 13 et seq.; *Vendidâd*, xix. 139.

the devoted Mazdæans consider it their duty to complete in the present world. There is no connection in such a tale as this with mankind, or a punishment for their sins. If it were absolutely desired to look for a parallel in the Bible for this first rain which fell upon the face of the earth, at the same time exterminating the noxious animals with which it was infested, and putting the soil in a condition to bring forth an abundant vegetation, the account of the Deluge would not be the place to turn to, but the fifth and sixth verses of the second chapter of *Genesis*.

The Greeks had two principal legends, differing from each other, in regard to the cataclysm which destroyed primitive man. The first was connected with the name of Ogyges, the most ancient king of Bœotia,(1) or Attica,(2) an entirely mythical personage, who is lost in the night of ages;(3) his very name seems to be derived from the word used primitively to designate the deluge in the Aryan idioms, in Sanskrit *âugha*.(4) It was related that in his time all the country was invaded by the deluge, whose

(1) Pausan., ix. 5, 1; Schol. *ad* Apollon. Rhod., *Argonaut.*, III., v. 1177; Tzetz. *ad* Lycophr., *Cassandr.*, v. 1206; Varr., *De re rust.*, iii. 1.

(2) See Ottfr. Müller, *Orchomenos*, p. 128 et seq.

(3) On Ogyges, his deluge and the idea of immense antiquity connected with his name, see Welcker, *Griechische Gœtterlehre*, vol. I., p. 775 et seq.

(4) Windischmann, *Ursagen der arischen Vœlker;* Pott, *Zeitschrift für vergleichendes Sprachforschung*, vol. V., p. 262; see, nevertheless, the objections of A. Kuhn, same journal, vol. IV., p. 89; Pictet, *Les origines indo-européennes*, vol. II., p. 629.

waters rose up to heaven, and from which he escaped in a vessel with some companions.(1)

The second tradition is the Thessalian legend of Deucalion. Zeus having resolved to destroy the men of the bronze age, whose crimes have excited his anger, Deucalion, following the advice of his father, Prometheus, builds a chest, in which he takes refuge with his wife, Pyrrha. The deluge comes on; the chest floats at the mercy of the waves, during nine days and nine nights, and is at last deposited by the waters on the summit of Parnassus. Deucalion and Pyrrha issue forth, offer a sacrifice, and repeople the world, according to the command of Zeus, by throwing behind them "the bones of the earth," or the stones, which were changed into men.(2) This deluge

(1) Pausan., ix., 5, 1; Schol. *ad* Apollon. Rhod., iii., v. 1177; Serv. *ad* Virgil., *Eclog.*, vi., v. 41.

(2) Strab., ix., p. 442; Pindar, *Olymp.*, ix., v. 64 et seq.; Apollon. Rhod., iii., v. 1085 et seq.; Pausan., i., 40, 1; x., 6, 2; Apollodor., i., 7, 2; Pseudo-Lucian., *De Dea Syr.*, 12; Ovid, *Metamorph.*, i., v. 260–415.

According to Hellanicos, it was on Othrys, and not on Parnassus, that the chest of Deucalion rested (*Ap.* Schol. *ad* Pindar., *Olymp.*, ix., v. 64), and it would then have been there that the hero founded a city and a temple. The Locrians designated Opontus (Pindar, *Olymp.*, ix., v. 62 et seq.), or Cynos (Strab., ix., p. 425), as the place of his disembarkation and abode after the deluge. The Athenians imagined that Deucalion came from Lycorea, on Parnassus, to their city, and that Amphictyon (the successor of Cranaos, under whom the deluge took place) was his son (*Marm. Par.*, § 6; Apollodor., i., 7, 2). At Argos they pointed out the mountain top where Deucalion left his chest, and erected an altar to Zeus Aphesios (*Etym. Magn.*, v. Ἀφέσιος). The Sicilians thought Etna to be the mountain on which Deucalion and Pyrrha were rescued from the Deluge (Nigid. *ap.* Schol. *ad* Germanic. Caes., *Arat.*, v. 283).

of Deucalion has more the character of an universal deluge than any other in Greek tradition. Many authors say that it extended over all the earth, and that the entire human race perished.(1) The memory of this event was celebrated at Athens by a ceremony called *Hydrophoria*,(2) intended also to pacify the manes of those who had died during the cataclysm, having so close an analogy with the ceremony in use at Hierapolis, in Syria, that it is easy to see in it a Syro-Phœnician importation and the result of an assimilation established from a remote antiquity between the deluge of Deucalion and the deluge of Ḫasisatra, as proved likewise by the author of the treatise *On the Syrian Goddess*.(3) Near the temple of the Olympian Zeus a fissure in the earth was exhibited only one cubit in length, through which it was said the waters of the Deluge were swallowed up in the ground.(4) Thither each year, on the third

We also hear of a Cretan Deucalion, son of Minos and Pasiphae (*Odyss.*, T, v. 180; Apollodor., iii., 1, 2 and 3; Pherecyd. *ap.* Schol. *ad* Apollon. Rhod., *Argonaut.*, iii., v. 1086). But there is nothing to indicate that a diluvian tradition is connected with his name.

(1) Nonn., *Dionys.*, vi., v. 367 et seq.; Lucian., *De saltat.*, 39; *Timo*, 3; Pseudo-Lucian., *De Dea Syr.*, 12; Steph. Byz., v. Ἰκόνιον; Virgil, *Georg.*, i., v. 61 et seq.; Hygin., *Fab.*, 152; Serv. *ad* Virgil., *Eclog.*, vi., v. 41.

(2) See K. Fr. Hermann, *Gottesdienstl. Alterthümer*, § 58, 22; August Mommsen, *Heortologie, Antiquarische Untersuchungen über die Stædtischen Feste der Athener*, p. 365.

(3) It is owing to this assimilation again that Plutarch (*De solert. anim.*, 13, p. 37, ed. Reiske) speaks of the dove sent by Deucalion to see if the deluge had ceased, a circumstance not referred to in any Greek mythology.

(4) Pausan., i., 18, 7.

day of the festival of the Anthesteria, a day of mourning, dedicated to the dead,(1) that is to say, the 13th day of the month Anthesterion, toward the beginning of March,(2) persons came to pour water into the chasm,(3) as at Bambyce, besides flour mingled with honey,(4) after the manner of the Athenians at their funeral sacrifices, who poured this mixture into a trench dug to the westward of the tomb.(5)

Others, however, limited the extent of Deucalion's deluge to Greece.(6) They even said that this catastrophe had destroyed only the majority of the population of the country,(7) and that many persons had been able to save their lives on the highest mountains.(8) Thus the legend of Delphi relates that the inhabitants of that town, following the wolves in their flight, took refuge in a grotto on the summit of Parnassus, where they built the city of Lycorea,(9) the foundation of which is, on the other hand, attributed by the Chronicle of Paros to Deucalion, after he had produced a new race of men.(10) The idea that there were various individuals simultaneously rescued at various points was necessarily sug-

(1) On the different rites which filled this day, see A. Mommsen, *Heortologie,* pp. 364–369.

(2) Plutarch, *Sull.,* 14. (3) *Etym. Magn.,* v. Ὑδροφόρια.

(4) Pausan., i., 18, 7.

(5) Clidem. *ap.* Athen., x., p. 409; Chr. Petersen, in the *Philologus, Supplem.* i., p. 178; cf. Homer, *Odyss.,* K, v. 517.

(6) Apollodor., i., 7, 8; Pausan., v., 8, 1; Conon, *Narrat.,* 27.

(7) Justin., ii., 6.

(8) Plat., *De leg.,* iii., p. 677; Apollodor., *l. c.*

(9) Pausan., x., 6, 2.

(10) See Ottfr. Müller, *Die Dorier,* vol. I., p. 212.

gested to later mythographers by the desire to reconcile the different local legends in quite a number of places in Greece, where another than Deucalion was named as the hero saved from the deluge.(1) One of these was Megaros, the eponym of the city of Megara, son of Zeus, and one of the Sithnide nymphs, who, warned of the Deluge that was imminent by the cries of the cranes, sought refuge on Mount Geranion.(2) Another was the Thessalian Cerambos, who, it was said, was enabled to escape the deluge by rising into the air, by means of wings given him by the nymphs;(3) and still another, Perirrhoos, son of Aiolos, whom Zeus Naïos preserved from the cataclysm at Dodona.(4) On the island of Cos, the people held that Merops, son of Hyas, was the hero saved from the deluge, and that he gathered under his rule in their island the remnants of mankind preserved with him.(5) In the tradition of Rhodes only the Telchines(6) escape the deluge, and in Crete Iasion.(7) In Samothracia the part of hero saved from the deluge was attributed to Saon,(8) said to be the son of Zeus or of Hermes;(9)

(1) See Gerhard, *Griech. Mythologie,* § 639, 2.

(2) Pausan., i., 40, 1.

(3) Ovid, *Metamorph.*, vii., v. 354 et seq.

(4) Bekker, *Anecdoct. graec.*, vol. I., p. 283.—For Aristotle (*Meteorol.*, i., 14), Deucalion's deluge was localized in Thessaly, the country of Dodona and the basin of the Acheloos.

(5) Schol. *ad Iliad.*, A, v. 250. (6) Diod. Sic., v., 56.

(7) Schol. *ad Odyss.*, E, v. 125.

(8) Diod. Sic., v., 48; see Ottfr. Müller, *Orchomenos*, pp. 65 and 157; Klausen, *Æneas und die Penaten*, vol. I., p. 363 et seq.

(9) Festus (v. *Salios*) compares Saon with the Salios of Mantinea.

he seems to be simply an heroic form of the Hermes Saos,(1) or Sôcos,(2) the object of a particular cult on the island, and the god in whom Philippe Berger has correctly recognized a Phœnician importation, the Kena'anite Sakun, identified elsewhere with Hermes.(3) Dardanos, who is made to reach Samothracia immediately after these events,(4) comes from Arcadia, whence he was driven by the deluge.(5)

In all these Greek accounts of the deluge it is evident that the ancient tradition of the cataclysm by which all mankind were destroyed, and which was common to all the Aryan nations, is confused, as Knobel has correctly perceived,(6) with the more or less distinct recollections of local catastrophes, occasioned by extraordinary overflowings of the banks of lakes or rivers by the rupture of the natural embankments of certain lakes, by the depression of portions of the sea-coast, by tidal waves following upon earthquakes, or upon partial upheavals of the ocean-bed.(7) We note events of this character fre-

(1) See Welcker, *Die Æschyl. Trilogie*, p. 217.

(2) *Iliad*, Y, v. 72; Suid., *s. v.*

(3) See in the *Gazette archéologique*, for 1880 [pp. 18–31], the fourth memoire of Philippe Berger on the Carthaginian Triad (*La Triade Carthaginoise*).

(4) Diod. Sic., v., 48; Dionys. Halicarn., *Antiq. rom.*, i., 61; Serv. *ad* Virgil., *Æneid*, iii., v. 167.

(5) Dionys. Halicarn., *l. c.;* see Klausen, *Æneas und die Penaten*, p. 375 et seq., and p. 388.

(6) *Die Genesis*, 2d Ed., p. 78 et seq. [3d Ed., by Dillmann, p. 143 et seq. Tr.]

(7) Strabo, I., pp. 51 and 54.

quently occurring in Greece,(1) in the district located between Egypt and Palestine, near Pelusium and Mount Casios,(2) and likewise in the Cimbrian Chersonese.(3) The Greeks related that in the primitive ages their country had experienced several of these catastrophes;(4) Istros(5) claimed four great ones, one of which had opened the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, carrying the waters of the Pontus Euxinus into the Ægean Sea and submerging the neighboring islands and coasts.(6) This undoubtedly was the Samothracian deluge, from which the inhabitants of the country who succeeded in escaping did so only by climbing to the highest point of the mountains rising there; afterwards, in gratitude for their preservation, they consecrated the entire island by encircling its shores with a girdle of altars dedicated to the gods.(7) In the same way, the tradition of the deluge of Ogyges seems to be associated with the recollection of an extraordinary rise in Lake Copaïs, inundating the

(1) Thucyd., III., 89; Diod. Sic., XII., 59, and XV., 48; Strab., VIII., p. 384 et seq.

(2) Strab., XVI., p. 758.

(3) Posidon. *ap.* Strab., II., p. 102; VII., p. 292 et seq.; Flor., III., 3.

(4) Plato, *Crit.*, 111.

(5) Eustath. *ad* Dionys. *Perieg.*, v. 513.

(6) Strat. *ap.* Strab., I., p. 51; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, II., 205; Val. Flacc., II., v. 617 et seq.; cf. Herod., VII., 6.

The rupture of the Straits of Messina, between Italy and Sicily, was ascribed to a convulsion of the same character: Diod. Sic., IV., 85; Dionys., *Perieg.*, v. 473.

(7) Diod. Sic., V., 47; cf. Tit. Liv., xlv., 5; Juven., III., v. 144.

whole of the great Bœotian valley,(1) a recollection afterwards exaggerated by the legend, as is always the case, especially by connecting with this local disaster features belonging to the popular stories about the primitive deluge, which happened before the dispersion and separation of the ancestors of the two races, Semitic and Aryan. It is also probable that some event that took place in Thessaly, or rather in the region of the Parnassus,(2) determined the localization of the legend of Deucalion, which nevertheless, as we have already noticed, continues to preserve a more universal character than the others, whether the deluge be considered as extending over the whole earth or only over the whole of Greece.

Howsoever it be, the different accounts were reconciled by admitting three successive deluges, that of Ogyges, that of Deucalion, and that of Dardanos.(3) General opinion fixed the deluge of Ogyges as the most ancient of the three,(4) and chronographers placed it at 600 years,(5) or about 250 years,(6)

(1) Fréret, *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscriptions*, 1st series, vol. XXIII., p. 139 et seq.; Ottfr. Müller, *Orchomenos*, p. 25; Maury, article *Déluge*, in the *Encyclopédie Nouvelle; Histoire des religions de la Grèce*, vol. I., p. 88.

(2) Forchammer, *Annales de l'Institut archéologique*, vol. X., p. 284 et seq.

(3) Nonn. *Dionys.*, III., v. 204 et seq.; Schol. *ad* Plat., *Tim.*, p. 22, ed. Stephan.

(4) Jul. African. *ap.* Euseb., *Præpar. evangel.*, X., 10; Clem. Alex., *Stromat.*, I., p. 320 et seq., ed. Sylburg; Nonn., *l. c.;* Serv. *ad* Virgil, *Eclog.*, VI., v. 41.

(5) Solin., XI., 18.

(6) Euseb., *Chron. Armen.*, pp. 273 and 281, ed. Mai; Syncell., pp. 131, 280 et seq., 290, edit. of Bonn.

before Deucalion's. But this chronology was far from being universally accepted, and the people of Samothracia held that their deluge had preceded all the others.(1) The Christian chronographers of the third and fourth centuries, like Julius Africanus and Eusebius, adopted the dates of Hellenic chronographers for the deluges of Ogyges and Deucalion, inscribing them upon their tablets as separate events from the Mosaic Deluge, which they believe to have happened a thousand years before that of Ogyges.(2)

In Phrygia, as in Greece, the tradition of the deluge was a national one. The town of Apamea derived its cognomen of *Kibôtos*, or "ark," therefrom, and claimed to be the place where the ark had rested.(3) Iconion also advanced the same pretensions,(4) and in like manner the inhabitants of the country of Milyas, in Armenia, exhibited the ruins of the ark on the top of a mountain, called Baris,(5) to the pilgrims on Arârât during the early Christian centuries,(6) very much as Berossus tells us that in his day persons visited the fragments of Ḫasisatra's vessel on the Gordyæan Mountains.

(1) Diod. Sic., V., 47.

(2) Euseb., *Chron. Armen.*, pp. 265 and 273, ed. Mai.

(3) *Orac. Sibyll.*, I., v. 261 et seq.; Cedren., *Histor. Compend.*, II., p. 10, ed. of Paris; see Ewald, *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft*, 1853–4 [vol. VI.], pp. 1 and 19.

On the name *Kibôtos*, borne by the town of Apamea: Strabo, XII., p. 576; Ptol. V., 2, 25; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, V., 29.

(4) Steph. Byz., v. Ἰκόνιον.

(5) Nicol. Damasc. *ap.* Joseph., *Antiq. Jud.*, I., 3, 6.

(6) St. John Chrysostom, *De perfection. carit.*, vol. VI., p. 350, ed. Gaume.

During the second and third centuries of the Christian era, in consequence of the syncretic infiltration of Jewish and Christian traditions, which permeated even the minds of those yet remaining in paganism, the sacerdotal authorities of the Phrygian Apamea caused some coins to be struck off, having for emblem an open ark, in which were the patriarch rescued from the Deluge and his wife, receiving the dove, which bears the olive branch, and on the obverse the same two individuals, after having left the ark to take possession of the earth.(1) On the ark is inscribed the name *ΝΩΕ*, the very form under which the name of Nôaḥ is presented in the Greek version of the Bible, called the Septuagint. Thus, at this epoch, the pagan priesthood of the Phrygian city had adopted the Biblical narrative, even to the names, and grafted it upon the ancient indigenous tradition. The story was also told of a holy man named Annacos,(2) who had reigned a little before the Deluge, which he predicted, occupying the throne more than 300 years; evidently a reproduction of the Ḥanôk of the Bible, with his 365 years of life in the way of the Lord.(3)

As for the Celtic family of nations, we find in the

(1) Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. III., pp. 134–139; Ch. Lenormant, in *Mélanges d'archéologie* of the Rev. Fathers Martin and Cahier, vol. III., p. 199 et seq.; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1866, pp. 173–219; Fr. Lenormant, *Le Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, vol. III., p. 123 et seq.

(2) Steph. Byz., v. 'Ικόνιον. Suidas gives the name the form of Nannacos: v. Νάνναkος.

(3) Buttman was the first to recognize this fact: *Mythologus*, vol. I., p. 176 et seq.

bardic poetry of the Cymris, in Wales, a tradition of the deluge which, notwithstanding the recent date of its redaction, summarized under a concise form called the *Triads*, is in its turn deserving of our attention. As is always the case, the legend is localized in the country itself, and the deluge is one of three terrible catastrophes on the island of Prydain, or Britain, the other two being a devastation by fire and a disastrous drought. "The first of these events," it is said, "was the eruption of Llyn-Ilion, or 'Lake of the Waves,' and the overwhelming of the whole face of the country by an inundation (*bawdd*), in which all mankind were drowned, with the exception of Dwyfan and Dwyfach, who were rescued in a ship without rigging, and by these two the isle of Prydain was repeopled."(1) "Although the *Triads*, under their present form, date back only to the thirteenth or fourteenth century," says Pictet,(2) "some of them are undoubtedly connected with very old traditions, and in the one in question nothing points to its having been borrowed from *Genesis*. This is perhaps not equally true of another *Triad*,(3) wherein a vessel called Nefydd-Naf-Neifion is referred to, carrying a pair of every kind of living creatures, when Lake Llyn-Ilion broke its bounds; this vessel bearing too close a resemblance to Noe's ark. The name itself of the patriarch may have suggested this obscure triple epithet, formed evidently, however, upon the principle of Cymric alli-

(1) *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, vol. II., p. 59, *Triad* 13.

(2) *Les origines indo-européennes*, vol. II., p. 619.

(3) *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, vol. II., p. 71, *Triad* 97.

teration. In the same *Triad* figures the very enigmatical history of the horned oxen (*ychain bannog*) of Hu, the powerful, which drew the Avanc (beaver or crocodile?) from the Llyn-Ilion, so that the inundation of the lake should cease. The solution of these enigmas can hardly be expected, unless we succeed in reducing to order the chaotic mass of the bardic monuments of mediæval Wales; though, meanwhile, there can be no question as to the Cymris having an indigenous tradition of the deluge."

A vestige of the same tradition is likewise found in the Scandinavian *Edda*,(1) in combination, however, with a cosmogonic myth. The three sons of Borr, Othin, Wili and We, grandsons of Buri, the first man, slay Ymir, the father of the Hrimthursar, or ice-giants, and use his corpse for constructing the world. The blood flows from his wounds in such abundance that the whole race of giants is drowned in it, with the sole exception of Bergelmir, who is saved in a boat with his wife, and who reproduces the exterminated race. Pictet again remarks: (2) "It may be perceived that this myth has no connection with the universal tradition, except in its final incidents, which, however, suffice to connect it with the common source."

The Lithuanians were the last among the European nations to embrace Christianity, and their language has deviated less than any other from its Aryan original. They possesss a legend of the

(1) *Vafthrudnismal*, str. 29.

(2) *Les origines indo-européennes*, vol. II., p. 620.

deluge, the basis of which appears to be ancient, although it has assumed the naïve character of a popular tale, and it is likely that certain details may have been borrowed from *Genesis* at the time of the first preaching of the missionaries of Christianity. According to this legend,(1) the god Pramzimas, seeing the earth to be full of disorder, sends two giants, Wandu and Wêjas, the water and the wind, to ravage it. They devastate everything in their fury, and only a few men escape upon a mountain-top. At this juncture, Pramzimas, who is in the act of eating celestial nuts, is touched with compassion and drops a shell near the mountain, and in it the men take refuge, and the giants respect this shelter. Escaped the disaster, they afterwards disperse, and a single very aged couple remain in that country alone, miserable, because they have no children. Pramzimas, to comfort them, sends them his rainbow and counsels them "to jump over the bones of the earth," thus curiously suggesting the oracle received by Deucalion. The two old married people jump nine times, and the result is nine pairs, who become the ancestors of the nine Lithuanian tribes.

While the tradition of the deluge occupies so conspicuous a place among the legendary memories of all the branches of the Aryan race, the monuments and original texts of Egypt, with all their cosmogonic speculations, do not afford a single, even remote allusion to such a cataclysm. When the Greeks told the story of Deucalion's deluge to the

(1) Hanusch, *Slawischer Mythus*, p. 234, according to Narbutt; Pictet, *Les origines indo-européennes*, vol. II., p. 620.

Egyptian priests, they were informed that the valley of the Nile had been preserved from that calamity,(1) as well as from the conflagration occasioned by Phaëthon;(2) they even went so far as to say that the Hellenes were childish in attaching so much importance to this event, for there had been a great number of analogous local catastrophes.(3) According to a passage of Manetho,(4) on which, however, there rests a strong suspicion of textual interpolation, Thoth, or Hermes Trismegistus, had himself, before the cataclysm, inscribed the first principles of science on stelas, in hieroglyphic characters, and in the sacred language. After the cataclysm, the second Thoth translated into the vulgar tongue the contents of these stelas. This is the only mention of the deluge coming from an Egyptian source; Manetho himself does not refer to the subject again in any part of his *Dynasties*, as it has come down to us, this being his only perfectly authentic work. The silence of all the other myths of the Pharaonic religion regarding this same legend makes it most probable that this account is simply a foreign tradition, recently introduced, and doubtless of an Asiatic and Chaldæan origin. Says Maury:(5) "The Seriadic country, where the passage in question locates the hieroglyphic columns, could not well have been other than Chaldæa. This tradition, though unknown to the Bible, had a place in the popular legend of the Jews at the beginning of the Christian era, this

(1) Diod. Sic., I., 10. (2) Plat., *Tim.*, p. 22, ed. Stephan.
(3) Plat., *Tim.*, p. 23. (4) *Ap.* Syncell., p. 40.
(5) Article *Déluge* in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle*.

circumstance confirming our supposition, as the Hebrews must have become familiar with it during the Babylonian captivity. Josephus (1) tells us that the Patriarch Shêth, foreseeing the double destruction by fire and water predicted by Âdâm, in order that the wisdom and science of astronomy should not perish, set up two columns, one of brick, the other of stone, engraving upon them this knowledge, and that they still exist in the Seriadic country." This story is evidently only a variation of the Chaldæan account of the tablets of terra-cotta, bearing the divine revelations and first principles of all the sciences, which Ḫasisatra was commanded by Êa to bury before the deluge "in the city of the Sun, Sippara," as given a little above in the extracts from Berossus.(2)

These stories of tablets, which contained the statement of the divine mysteries and the narrative of the beginning of the world, and were buried by the kings of the primitive ages that they might be preserved from all chance of destruction, and discovered by the men of later ages, occupied an important place among the popular fables of the Chaldæo-Babylonians. It is thus that the mutilated document in the British Museum, containing the fragments of the history of the first monstrous generations of men with birds' heads, sprung from the womb of chaos, according to the tradition of Kuti (Cutha),(3) is

(1) *Antiq. Jud.*, I., 2, 3.

(2) Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de commentaire des fragments de Bérose*, p. 276.

(3) G. Smith, *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 102–106. [Rev. Ed., pp. 92–96. Tr.]

given as the copy of a tablet written by a king of the mythical generations, who is said to have buried it in the foundation of the famous Temple of Nergal. This fabulous monarch is reputed to have finished his account with these words: "O thou, king, viceroy, prince, or whosoever thou mayest be,—whom the divinity shall call and who shalt govern the kingdom,—who shalt rebuild this temple, I write this for thee;—in the city of Kuti, in the foundations of the temple of the god who manifests himself in valor,—of the sanctuary of Nergal, I leave this for thee.—See this tablet and—listen to the words of this tablet;—be not rebellious, be not wanting in any respect,—be not overcome with fear, be not turned aside;—then thy foundations will be firm,—thou shalt be glorious in thy works,—thy fortresses will be strong,—thy canals full of water,—thy treasures, thy wheat, thy silver,—thy furniture, thy provisions—and thy implements will be multiplied." One of the books of the augural collection, of which we have the catalogue in one of the tablets of the Palace Library of Nineveh, commenced with these words: "In the midst of the city, tablets of clay have been placed in a safe spot,"(1) and it is thus designated on the catalogue.

The Egyptians, however, admitted a destruction of the first men by the gods on account of their rebellion and their sins. This event was related in a chapter of the sacred books of Tahut, the famous Hermetic Books of the Egyptian priesthood, which was engraved upon the partition walls of one

(1) *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 52, 3, obv., l. 36: *Ina lib ali duppi libitti izzazu.*

of the most secluded halls of the mausoleum of King Seti I., at Thebes. The text of it has been published and translated by Edouard Naville.(1)

The scene is laid at the end of the reign of the god Râ, the first terrestrial reign, according to the system of the priests of Thebes; the second, according to the system of the priests of Memphis, followed by Manetho, who placed the reign of Phta'h at the beginning of things, before that of Râ. Angered by the impiety and crimes of the men he had made, the god assembles the other gods to hold a council in the greatest secresy, "so that men may not see it, and that their hearts may not fear."

"Said by Râ to Nun:(2) 'Thou, the eldest of the gods, of whom I am born, and you, ancient gods, behold the men who are born of myself; they speak words against me; tell me what you would do in this matter; behold, I have waited, and I have not slain them before having heard your words.'

"Said by the Majesty of Nun: 'My son Râ, greater god than he who hath made him and hath created him, I remain in great fear before thee; thyself shalt deliberate in thyself.'

"Said by the Majesty of Râ: 'Lo, they fly into the country, and their hearts are full of fear.' . . . .

"Said by the gods: 'May thy face permit it, and may these men be smitten who plot wicked things, thy enemies, and may no one [exist among them].'"

A goddess, whose name has unfortunately disap-

(1) *La destruction des hommes par les dieux*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. IV., pp. 1–19.

(2) Personification of the primordial abyss.

peared, but who seems to be Tefnut, identified with Hat'hor and Sekhet, is then sent to carry out the sentence of destruction. "This goddess went forth and slew the men upon the earth.—Said by the Majesty of this god: 'Come in peace, Hat'hor, thou hast done [what has been commanded thee].'—Said by this goddess: 'Thou art living, for I have been stronger than men, and my heart is content.'—Said by the Majesty of Râ: 'I am living, for I will rule over them, [and I will complete] their ruin.'—And, lo, Sekhet, during several nights, trampled their blood under foot as far as the city of Hâ-khnen-su (Heracleopolis)."

But the massacre being accomplished, the anger of Râ is appeased; he begins to repent of what he has done. He is entirely calmed by a great expiatory sacrifice. Fruits are gathered in every part of Egypt; they are pounded and mixed with human blood, and 7000 jars full are presented before the god.

"Behold the Majesty of Râ, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, comes with the gods, after sailing three days, to see these vessels full of beverage, after he had ordered the goddess to slay mankind.—Said by the Majesty of Râ: 'It is well, this: I shall protect men by reason of this.' Said by Râ: 'I raise my hand on this account, to swear that I will no more slay men.'

"The Majesty of Râ, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, gave orders in the middle of the night to empty the liquid of the vessels, and the fields were completely filled with water, by the will

of this god. The goddess arrived in the morning, and found the fields full of water; her face was joyous therefor, and she drank in abundance, and she departed satiated. She perceived no more men.

"Said by the Majesty of Râ to this goddess: 'Come in peace, gracious goddess.'—And he caused the young priestesses of Amu (the Libyan nome) to be born.—Said by the Majesty of Râ to the goddess: 'Libations shall be made to him at each of the feasts of the new year, under the direction of my priestesses.'—Hence it comes that libations are made under the direction of the priestesses of Hat'hor by all men even since those ancient days."

Nevertheless, some men escaped the destruction which Râ had commanded; they renewed the population on the face of the earth. As for the solar god who reigns over the world, he feels himself old, sick, weary; he has had enough of living among men, whom he regrets not having completely exterminated, but whom he has sworn to spare henceforward.

"Said by the Majesty of Râ: 'There is a sharp pain which torments me; what is it that hurts me?' Said by the Majesty of Râ: 'I am alive, but my heart is tired of being with them (men), and I have nowise destroyed them. That was not a destruction which I myself carried out.'

"Said by the gods who accompany him: 'Away with thy lassitude; thou hast obtained all that thou hast desired.'"

The god Râ decides, however, to accept the help of the new race of men, which is offered him to fight against his enemies; and they engage in a great

battle, whence they come out victors. But, in spite of this success, the god, disgusted with the life on earth, resolves to quit it forever, and causes himself to be carried to heaven by the goddess Nut, under the form of a cow. There he creates a place of delights, the fields of Aalu, the Elysium of Egyptian mythology, which he peoples with stars. Entering into rest, he assigns to the different gods the government of the different parts of the world. Shu, who is to succeed him as king, will administer the affairs of heaven with Nut; Seb and Nun receive the guardianship of the creatures of the earth and the water. Finally, Râ, as a sovereign voluntarily descending from his seat of power, a genuine abdication, goes to make his dwelling with Tahut, his favorite son, to whom he gives the direction of the lower world.

Such is this strange history, "in which," as Naville has well said, "in the midst of fantastic and often puerile inventions, we find, nevertheless, the two terms of existence as understood by the ancient Egyptians. Râ begins with the earth, and, passing through heaven, stops in the region of the deep, the Ament, in which he seems to wish to dwell. This is, then, a symbolic and religious representation of life, which for every Egyptian, and above all for a conquering king, must begin and end like the Sun. This explains why this chapter should be inscribed within a tomb."

It is the last part of the narrative, which we have confined ourselves to summarizing very briefly, with its history of the abdication of Râ, and of his retire-

ment, at first into heaven, afterwards into the Ament, symbolizing death, which must be followed by a resurrection, in like manner as the sun issues forth again from darkness, that gives it its whole interest for the religious teaching about the future state, which is unfolded in the decoration of the interior walls of the tomb of Seti I. For us, however, on account of the present subject of study, the importance of the record lies in the episode with which it opens, being the destruction of primitive men by the gods, of which hitherto no mention has anywhere else been found. Although the method of destruction employed by Râ against men be altogether different, though he does not work by means of a submersion, but by a massacre, his executioner being the goddess Tefnut, or Sekhet, the lion-headed, Hat'hor's form of terror, this account presents in every other respect a sufficiently striking analogy with that of the Mosaic or Chaldæan Deluge to admit of a comparison, and make it probable that this is the same tradition which in Egypt assumes a peculiar and excessively individual garb. On both hands, in fact, we have the same idea of the corruption of mankind exciting the divine anger; this corruption, in either case, is punished by the extermination of mankind, agreed upon in heaven, a punishment which differs only in its form, but from which, whatever shape the tradition assumes, only a very small number of individuals escape, from whom a new human race is destined to issue. As a climax, the destruction of men being accomplished, the celestial anger is entirely appeased by means of an expi-

atory sacrifice, and a solemn compact is concluded between the divinity and the new human race, the former taking an oath never again to destroy mankind. The agreement of all these essential characteristics seems to me to outweigh the divergence in the means used to exterminate primitive man. And, furthermore, it is well to note in this connection the curious resemblance of the part assigned by the Egyptian narrator to Râ, and the character ascribed in the Epopee of Uruk to the god Bel, in Ḫasisatra's deluge. "The Egyptians," says the Abbé Vigouroux,(1) "had retained the tradition of the destruction of mankind; but as an inundation was for them a synonym of prosperity and life, they altered the primitive tradition; the human species, instead of perishing by water, was otherwise exterminated, and the inundation, as a benefaction to the Nile Valley, became in their eyes the sign of the pacifying of Râ's indignation."

"It is a fact altogether worthy of notice," says Maury,(2) "that in America we meet with traditions relating to the deluge infinitely more like that of the Bible and of the Chaldæan religion than among any nation of the Old World. It is difficult to conceive that traditions of this kind should have been carried thither with the migrations which undoubtedly were made from Asia to North America by way of the Kurile or Aleutian Islands, and which in fact continue to our day, because there is not a trace of them to be found among the Mongolian and Siberian

(1) *La Bible et les découvertes modernes*, 2d Ed., vol. I., p. 219.

(2) Article *Déluge*, in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle*.

tribes (1) which have been mingled with the autoch-

(1) Nevertheless, the deluge occupies an important place in the cosmogonic traditions of a remarkably original character, which Réguly collected among the Voguls. See Lucien Adam, in the *Revue de philologie et d'ethnographie*, vol. I., p. 12 et seq. The event is thus related:

"After seven years of drought, the great woman said to the great man: 'It has rained elsewhere; how shall we save ourselves? The other giants have assembled in a burgh to take counsel together. What shall we do?'

"The great man answered: 'Let us cut a poplar tree in half, hollow it and make of it two boats. We will then twist a rope five hundred fathoms long out of willow roots, and bury one end in the earth, and fasten the other to the prows of our boats. The man who has children shall go on board the boat with what belongs to him, and over them shall be placed a covering made of skins of oxen; victuals shall be prepared for seven days and seven nights, and be placed beneath the covering. When all is done, we will find room in each boat for vessels filled with liquid butter.'

"After having thus assured their own safety, the two giants traversed the villages and entreated the inhabitants to build boats and twist ropes. Some did not know how to go about it, and to such the giants gave the necessary instructions. Others preferred to seek a spot where they could take refuge; but they sought in vain, and the great man to whom they applied, because he was their elder, declared that he knew of no place of refuge vast enough to be a safe place for the people. 'Behold now,' he added, 'we are about to be overtaken by the holy water, for already for two days past we have heard the roar of its waves. Let us enter the boats without delay.'

"The earth was soon submerged. Those who had not built boats perished in the warm water, and the same thing happened to the owners of boats whose rope was too short, as well as to those who had not supplied themselves with melted butter, to ease the play of the rope against the sides of the boat.

"The water began to fall on the seventh day, and before long the survivors set foot upon those portions of the ground which had emerged. But, alas! there were no longer upon the surface

thonous races of the New World. . . . . Undoubtedly certain nations of America, such as the Mexicans and Peruvians, had already reached a very advanced social condition at the period of their conquest; but this civilization has a character peculiar to itself, and appears to have been developed upon the soil where it flourished. Several very simple inventions—as, for instance, the balance (1)—were unknown to these nations, and this fact proves that they did not acquire their knowledge from India or Japan. The attempts that have been made to discover in Asia, in the Buddhist society, the beginnings of Mexican civilization, have not so far led to any satisfactory issue. Moreover, had Buddhism, as seems very doubtful, penetrated to America, it could hardly have brought with it a myth which does not appear in its own books.(2) The reason of the similarity of the diluvian traditions of the New World aborigines

of the earth either trees or plants; the animals had perished; the fishes even had disappeared. Being on the verge of dying of hunger, men supplicated the great god Numi-târom to create anew fishes, animals, trees and plants. And their prayer was granted."

A diluvian narrative has also been discovered among the Eleuts or Kalmuks, whither it seems to have penetrated along with Buddhism: Malte-Brun, *Précis de Geographie*, book cxxxvii. [Ed. Huot, 1841.—Ed. 1810–29, book lx. Tr.]

(1) We might also add the knowledge of an artificial light of any sort whatever for use during the night.

(2) It should, however, be remarked that the Buddhist missionaries appear to have introduced the diluvian tradition of India into China. Gutzlaff (*On Buddhism in China*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1st series, vol. XVI., p. 79 [1856]) affirms that he has seen the chief episode represented in a very fine painting in a temple of the goddess Kuan-yin.

with the Biblical tradition still remains an unexplained fact." I am glad to quote these words of a man whose erudition is immense, for the very reason that he does not belong to the ranks of Catholic writers, and therefore will not be suspected of having allowed a preconceived opinion to get the better of his judgment. Others, besides, no less rationalistic than himself, have pointed out this same affinity of the American tradition relating to the deluge with the Biblical and Chaldæan records.(1)

The most important of the American legends of the deluge are those of Mexico, because they appear to have existed in a definitely fixed form in symbolic and mnemonic paintings before there was any contact between the aborigines and the Europeans. According to these documents, the Nôaḥ of the Mexican cataclysm is Coxcox, called by certain tribes Teocipactli, or Ṭezpi. He is supposed to have been saved with his wife, Xochiquetzal, in a bark, or, according to other traditions, on a raft of bald cypress wood (*Cupressus disticha*). Certain paintings portraying Coxcox's deluge have been discovered among the Aztecs, the Miztecs, the Zapotecs, the Tlascaltecs and the Mechoacanesians. The tradition of these last especially presents a more striking conformity with the accounts in *Genesis* and the Chaldæan sources than any of the others. The story as told in them may be given thus: Tezpi embarked on a capacious

(1) Kanne, *Biblische Untersuchungen*, vol. I., p. 48 et seq.; Pustkuchen, *Urgeschichte*, vol. I., p. 287 et seq.; Rosenmüller, *Altes und Neues Morgenland*, vol. I., p. 33 et seq.; Knobel, *Die Genesis*, 2d Ed., p. 76. [But see 3d Ed., by Dillmann, p. 149. Tr.]

vessel with his wife, his children, some animals and different kinds of grain, the preservation of which was necessary to the subsistence of the human species. When the great god Tezcatlipoca commanded that the waters should retreat, Tezpi sent a vulture forth from the vessel. The bird, which feeds on carrion, did not return, owing to the great number of corpses strewed over the recently emerged land. Tezpi sent out other birds, among which the humming-bird alone returned, holding in his beak a branch of foliage. Then Tezpi, seeing that the ground was beginning to be covered with fresh verdure, abandoned his ship upon the mountain of Colhuacan.(1)

The most valuable document on the subject of the cosmogonic system of the Mexicans is that designated by the name of *Codex Vaticanus*, after the Vatican Library, where it is preserved. It contains four symbolic pictures, summing up the four ages of the world preceding the present age. They were copied at Cholula from a manuscript anterior in date to the Conquest, and accompanied by an explanatory commentary by Pedro de los Rios, a Dominican monk, who, in 1566, less than fifty years after the arrival of Cortez, gave himself up to the investigation of aboriginal tradition, as being a study necessary in connection with his labors as a missionary.

(1) A. von Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique*, vol. II., p. 177 et seq. [ed. Paris, fol., 1810, pp. 226–227; Eng. Trans., 1814, II., p. 64 et seq. Tr.]; Clavigero, *Storia Antica del Messico*, vol. III., p. 151 [Eng. Trans., 2d Ed., 1807, II., p. 204. Tr.]; MacCulloch, *Researches, Philosophical and Antiquarian, concerning the Aboriginal History of America*, p. 262 et seq.

The first age is marked thereupon by the figures $13 \times 400 + 6$ or 5206, which Alexander von Humboldt understands as giving the number of years of the period, and the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg as the date of its beginning, according to a proleptic era, reckoned backward from the epoch of the execution of the manuscript. This age is called *Tlatonatiuh*, "sun of earth." It is that of the giants, or Quinames, the first inhabitants of Anahuac, who were finally destroyed by famine.

The figures of the second age are $12 \times 400 + 4$ or 4804, its name being *Tletonatiuh*, "sun of fire." It comes to an end with the descent upon the earth of Xiuhteuctli, the god of the fiery element. Human beings are all transformed into birds, and only thus escape the conflagration; nevertheless, one human pair find shelter in a cavern, and they repeople the universe after this calamity.

The figures of the third age, or *Ehecatonatiuh*, "sun of wind," are $10 \times 400 + 10$ or 4010. The catastrophe with which it terminates is a terrible hurricane, set in motion by Quetzalcohuatl, the god of the air. With very few exceptions, human beings are metamorphosed into monkeys during this hurricane.

Immediately thereupon follows the fourth age, called *Atonatiuh*, "sun of water," the figures of which are $10 \times 400 + 8$ or 4008. It ends with a great inundation, a real deluge. All men are changed into fishes, excepting only one individual and his wife, who escape in a boat made out of the trunk of a bald cypress. The figurative picture represents

Matlalcueye, goddess of the waters and companion of Tlaloc, the god of the rain, hurling themselves down toward the earth. Coxcox and Xochiquetzal, the two human beings preserved from the disaster, appear seated upon a tree-trunk, which floats upon the waters.(1) This deluge is represented as the last cataclysm which has agitated the face of the earth.

All this seems of serious import, and a mind of the order of Alexander von Humboldt's unhesitatingly recognizes its superior value, although Girard de Rialle's late verdict is to this effect:(2)

"The myth of the deluge has been found to exist in many of the American countries, and Christian authors have promptly discovered in it a reference to the Biblical tradition; they have even found traces of the history of the Tower of Babel,(3) in connection with the Pyramid of Cholula. We will not waste time in demonstrating the process of making out of a fish-god, Coxcox among the Chichimecs, Teocipactli among the Aztecs, and out of a goddess of flowers, Xochiquetzal, the Mexican figures of Nôaḥ and his wife, adding thereto the story of the ark and the dove. It will suffice to say that all these legends, with a Biblical air about them, were collected and published only at a comparatively recent epoch;(4) the

(1) A. von Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères*, vol. I., p. 114 [ed. Paris, fol., 1810, p. 207 and pl. xxvi.; Eng. Trans., 1814, II., 23. Tr.]; H. de Charencey, *Chronologie des âges ou soleils, d'après la mythologie mexicaine*, pp. 22–31.

(2) *La Mythologie comparée*, vol. I., p. 352 et seq.

(3) We will recur to this point in chapter xiv.

(4) Published, yes; collected, no. The date of Pedro de los Rios suffices to refute this argument.

first chroniclers — themselves needing to be treated with much reserve for all their honest *naïveté*—such as Sahagun, Mendieta, Olmos, etc., and the Spanish-native writers, such as the Tezcucan Ixtlixochit and the Tlascaltec Camargo, do not breathe a word of the stories, which they would not have failed to publish, had they existed in their day. Finally, in Bancroft's work [1] may be found a criticism of these legends, due to Don José Fernando Ramirez, curator of the National Museum of Mexico, who demonstrates with incontestable authority that all these tales arose from rash or *tendency*-governed interpretations of ancient Mexican paintings, representing nothing more, as he believed, than episodes of the migration of the Aztecs about the lakes in the centre of the plateau of Anahuac."

I am very much afraid that the *tendency*-governed disposition (since this ugly word, which is not in the French language, has been used in this connection) does not apply to the writers who are supposed to be crushed beneath the epithet of "Christian," which, it may be said in passing, would greatly surprise some among them. And this disposition, when its object is to attack the Bible at any cost, is quite as anti-scientific as that which admits every kind of argument in uncritical defense of the Sacred Books.[2] Doubtless the attributes of Xochiquetzal,

(1) *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. III., p. 68 et seq.

(2) In criticising a little severely a passage of Girard de Rialle's book, I do not detract from the merits of the book, which is very erudite, filled with curious and carefully summarized facts, and to which I owe much in the compilation of this chapter.

or Macuilxochiquetzal, as goddess of fertilizing rain and of vegetation, identical with Chalchihuitlicue or Matlalcueye, are well ascertained facts, more certain even than the character of the god-fish, Coxcox or Teocipactli. But the transformation of the gods into heroes is of constant recurrence in all polytheisms, and is most frequently associated with the kind of unconscious euhemerism invariably found among nations in their childhood. Therefore there is nothing in that fact to prevent these two divine personages, regarded simply as heroes, from having been taken as the two survivors of the deluge, the ancestors of the new human race. As to Don José Fernando Ramirez's theory respecting the symbolic pictures supposed to contain a figured representation of the diluvian tradition, it is very ingenious and very learnedly worked out, but it cannot be regarded as so absolutely demonstrated as Girard de Rialle makes it out to be. Even supposing it incontrovertible, the only result would be to exclude from the question some of the documents that have been brought into it, just as it is possible that in the attempt to assimilate native stories there may have been some little, almost unconscious, forcing of certain points, which the collaters were naturally led to connect with *Genesis*, such as the sending of the birds of Tezpi. But the existence itself of the diluvian tradition among the various nations of Mexico cannot be questioned, for it rests upon a complete collection of undoubted testimony, which confirms in the most forcible manner the interpretation hitherto accepted of the *Codex Vaticanus.*

The valuable work compiled by a native, since the Spanish conquest, in the Aztec language and in Latin characters, called by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg *Codex Chimalpopoca*, of which he gives the analysis and the partial introduction in the first volume of his *Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique*, contains in its third part a history of the Suns, or of the successive ages in the existence of the world. The name of each age refers to the mode of the destruction of mankind at the termination of that particular period. Hence the first is the age of jaguars, since they devoured the primitive giants;(1) the second is the age of the wind, and when that came to an end "men lost themselves, carried away as they were by the wind; and they were transformed into apes. The houses, the woods, all were carried off by the wind." After that comes the age of fire, the sun of which is called Tlalocan-Teuctli, "Lord of the lower regions," the customary appellation of Mictlanteuctli, the Mexican Pluto, which appears to indicate the notion of an age of quite special volcanic activity. Mankind at the end of this epoch is destroyed by a rain of fire, and such as are not burned escape only by being transformed into birds. To conclude, the fourth age is that of water, immediately preceding the existing epoch, and ending with the deluge.

Here follows the textual account of the cataclysm, according to the translation of the Abbé Brasseur, which is considered exact among Americanists:

(1) By a curious alteration of the text, it is said that the jaguars "were devoured," instead of saying "they devoured."

"This is the sun called *Nahui-atl*, 'four (of) water.'(1) Now, the water was calm for forty years, plus twelve, and men lived for the third and the fourth time. When the sun *Nahui-atl* came, four hundred years had gone by, plus two centuries, plus seventy-six years. Then all men were lost and drowned, and found themselves changed into fishes. The sky approached the water. In a single day everything was lost, and the day *Nahui-xochitl*, 'four (of) flower,' consumed all our flesh.

"And this year was that of *Ce-calli*, 'one (of) house,'(2) and on the day *Nahui-atl* all was lost. The mountains even were plunged beneath the water. And the water remained calm during fifty-two spring-times.

"Now, at the end of the year, the god Titlacahuan had forewarned Nata and his wife Nena, saying: 'Make no more wine of agave, but set to work to hollow out a great bald cypress, and you shall go into it when the water begins to rise toward the sky, in the month Tozontli.

"Then they went into it, and when the god had shut the door of it, he said: 'Thou shalt eat but one single sheaf of maize, and thy wife one also.'

"But as soon as they had finished they went out of that place; and the water remained calm, for the wood no longer stirred it up, and opening it they began to see the fishes.

(1) According to the designation of the day of the year in which the final cataclysm was said to have taken place.

(2) This designation for a year enters into the system of Mexican cycles, comprising a certain number of groups of years, each one characterized by the name of an object or of an animal.

"Then they lighted some fire by rubbing pieces of wood together, and they broiled some fishes. The gods Citlalliuicue and Citlallatonac, looking downward instantly, said: 'Divine lord, what is this fire which is made there? Why do they thus smoke the sky?'

"Titlacahuan-Tezcatlipoca immediately came down. He began to scold, saying, 'Who has been making this fire here?' And seizing the fishes, he moulded their bodies and shaped their heads, and they were transformed into dogs (*chichime*)."

This last point is a satire directed against the Chichimecs or "barbarians of the North," founders of the kingdom of Tezcuco. It stamps the narrative with a purely aboriginal character, and excludes the idea of a Biblical imitation, which the date of its redaction might have led one to suspect.(1)

The manuscript history written in Spanish by Motolinia, and dating back to the age of the Conquistadores, is not now known, except through extracts given by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg in his *Recherches sur les ruines de Palenqué*, a work containing some very useful documents, although interlarded with the visionary ideas with which the learned pioneer of American antiquities was so strangely carried away toward the end of his career. We find here again the theory of the four suns or four ages, presented exactly in the same order as by the author of the *Codex Chimalpopoca*.(2)

(1) See, furthermore, in regard to all this account, H. de Charencey, *Chronologie des âges, ou soleils*, pp. 8–18.

(2) On the system followed by Motolinia, see H. de Charencey, same dissertation, pp. 18–22.

The first is called "the age of Tezcatlipoca," because that god is said to have added one-half to the sun, only half of which gave light, or is said to have "made a sun of himself in its stead." During this age there lived the Quinames, or giants, who were nearly all exterminated by a famine. Following upon this last event, Quetzalcohuatl, the god of the air, having armed himself with a great stick, beat Tezcatlipoca with it, threw him into the water, and in his turn "made a sun of himself in his stead." The deposed god, having transformed himself into a jaguar, went about devouring all the Quinames who had escaped famine. The records of the *Codex Vaticanus* and the *Codex Chimalpopoca*, regarding the catastrophe which brought the first age of the world to an end, are reconciled by means of this third narrative.

Motolinia proceeds to make the second and third ages those of wind and of fire, ending with the destructions with which we are already acquainted. The fourth age is that of the "sun of the water," placed under the patronage of the goddess Chalchihuitlicue. The deluge of waters put an end to this, and after this last of the cataclysms the present age begins.(1)

We will now turn to the records of the *History of the Chichimecas*, by Don Fernando d'Alva Ixtlil-

(1) Motolinia is so little concerned about finding a similarity between the Biblical and Mexican deluges that he places the last-named in the year 68 B. C., in consequence of native cyclical computations which were incapable of rising above comparatively feeble numbers, after leaving the epoch which included authentic history for the inhabitants of Anahuac.

xochitl, a descendant of the ancient pagan kings of Tezcuco, whose supposed silence, as we have but just now seen, was quoted as a proof against the authenticity of the diluvian tradition of Mexico. In the first chapter of his first book,(1) Ixtlilxochitl tells the story of the cosmic ages according to the traditions of his native city. He allows only four of these, including the present epoch. According to him, the first of all is the *Atonatiuh*, or "sun of the waters," which begins with the creation and ends with a universal deluge. Thereupon follows the *Tlachitonatiuh*, or "sun of earth," the second age, when the giants, called Quinametzin-Tzocuilhioxime, live, descended from the few survivors of the first epoch. A tremendous earthquake, which crumbles the mountains and destroys the greater part of the inhabitants of the earth, ends this age. During the third age, *Ehecatonatiuh*, "sun of wind," the Olmecs and the Xicalancs come from the East to settle in the South of Mexico. Enslaved at first by the remaining Quinames, they end by massacring them. Quetalcohuatl then appears as a religious reformer, but is not listened to by mankind, whose indocility is chastised by the frightful hurricane in consequence of which those who do not perish become apes.(2)

(1) Ternaux Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires sur l'Amérique*, vol. XII., p. 1 et seq.

(2) There is a curious resemblance between this story thus presented and the account of the miraculous destruction of the mythical people of 'Âd in the Arab legends.

"The arrogance and impiety of the 'Adites had reached the last pitch; God raised up among them a prophet named Ḥûd, who appeared during the reign of a certain Khuldjân. During

After this new catastrophe the age now in progress opens, called *Tlatonatiuh* or "sun of fire," because it is destined to end with a rain of fire. Thus it may be seen that Ixtlilxochitl is perfectly well acquainted with the diluvian tradition, and if he does not enter into the details of it, he at least assigns to it an important place in his picture of the successive ages of the world.

We are constrained to admit, in accordance with the authorities which we have passed in review, that the tradition of the deluge among the various nations of Mexico is genuine and thoroughly indigenous; it

the fifty years that his mission lasted, Ḥûd in vain tried to bring his brothers to the knowledge of the one God. Then a horrible drought afflicted the land. The 'Adites sent three of their number to the valley of Mecca, which was even then a spot held in veneration, to offer sacrifices and to ask for rain from heaven.

"Some of the Amâliqa, allied by blood to the 'Adites, inhabited this valley. They received the envoys like kinsfolk, and one of the strangers led victims to the top of a mountain and immolated them. Immediately three clouds appeared over his head, and a celestial voice cried to him: 'Choose for thy nation whichever thou wouldst have.' He chose the largest and blackest, thinking that it was surcharged with rain. On the instant the cloud set out, directing its course toward the country of the 'Adites. From its bosom came forth a terrible hurricane, which destroyed every one, with the exception of the small number of those who had yielded to the counsels of Ḥûd and renounced idolatry. Of the three envoys, the one who had sacrificed was likewise struck with death; the other two were spared, because they had believed the word of Ḥûd." (Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, vol. I., p. 15.)

"We sent against the people of 'Âd," says Allah, in the *Qôrân* (liv., 19, 20; cf. li., 41, 42; lxix., 6, 7), "a violent wind, on an ill-omened day,—a wind blowing ceaselessly. And it swept the men away like the trunks of palm trees violently uprooted."

is by no means an invention of the missionaries, as has been insinuated. Doubts might be raised with so much the more reason in regard to certain details in some of its versions, especially as having a connection with preconceived ideas, because they appear to be too exact and too much like *Genesis*. But as for the fundamental tradition, that is unassailable, and it comes to us intimately associated with a conception which has not been drawn from the Bible, the genuineness of which Bancroft and Girard de Rialle(1) do not dream of touching, and that is the idea of the four ages of the world.(2) This conception presents a singular analogy with that of the four ages, or yugas, of India, and that of the manvantaras, in which the destructions and renewals of the human race alternate, an analogy which Humboldt,(3) MacCulloch,(4) and Maury(5) considered very significant. It is of such a nature that we are justified in inquiring whether it were possible that the Mexicans of themselves could have produced a conception, in an entirely independent manner, so exactly parallel to that of the Hindus, or whether

(1) *La Mythologie comparée*, vol. I., p. 352.

(2) See H. de Charencey's dissertation, *Chronologie des âges ou soleils d'après la mythologie mexicaine*, Caen, 1878.

(3) *Vues des Cordilières*, vol. I., p. 337; vol. II., pp. 118, 140 and 168. [Ed. Paris, fol., 1810, p. 203 et seq.; Eng. Trans., 1814, II., p. 16 et seq. Tr.]

(4) *Researches, Philosophical and Antiquarian, concerning the Aboriginal History of America*, p. 260 et seq.

(5) Articles *Ages* and *Déluge*, in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle*. See further G. D'Eichthal, *Revue Archéologique*, new series, vol. XI., pp. 44 and 290.

they may not have received it from India through a more or less direct channel. The tradition of the deluge, and the system of the four ages from which this tradition is inseparable in Mexico, place us then face to face with the problem to which one irresistibly recurs, when the question of the American civilizations arises, the problem of the originality, more or less complete and more or less spontaneous, of these civilizations, and of the additions which may have been made to them by Buddhist missionaries or others from Asia, at some epoch. In the present state of knowledge, it is as impossible to solve this problem negatively as affirmatively, and all the attempts now being made to understand it are much too premature and cannot lead to any solid result. Before attempting to find out the origin of the American civilizations, it will be necessary to know thoroughly what they were; before attacking the arduous and obscure problems of their beginnings, it is needful to construct a well-planned American archæology on the same scientific bases and after the same methods as other archæologies, and it is on this point that J. G. Müller and Hubert Bancroft seem to me so far in advance of all their predecessors in this branch of study.

For the time being, nothing more can be done than to determine the facts, as I have attempted to do, in the matter of the account of the deluge, without attempting to deduce therefrom hasty and ambitious conclusions. To-day I cannot express myself with the same confidence that I did eight years ago, to this effect: "The Mexican accounts of the deluge

prove conclusively that the diluvian tradition is one of the oldest in human records, a tradition so primitive that it dates back prior to the dispersion of the human family and the first developments of material civilization, and the red race which peopled America brought it from the common cradle of our kind to its new habitations, at the same time that the Semites, Chaldæans and Aryans carried it with them to the lands of their adoption."(1) The truth is, this tradition of the deluge is perhaps not really so primitive with the American nations. We can state positively that it was not borrowed from the Bible after the advent of the Spaniards; but we are unable to affirm with equal certainty that it may not have been, together with the belief in the four ages of the world, the fruit of a foreign importation at an earlier epoch, whose date and point of departure it would be at present impossible to determine.

However that may be, the doctrine of the successive ages, and the destruction of the men of the first of these ages by a deluge, appears in the curious book of the *Popol-vuh*, a collection of mythological traditions of the aborigines of Guatemala, edited in the Quiche language, after the conquest, by a secret adept of the ancient religion, discovered, copied, and translated into Spanish in the beginning of the last century by the Dominican Francisco Ximenez, pastor of Saint-Thomas de Chuila. His Spanish version has been published by Schelzer,(2) and the

(1) *Essai de commentaire des fragments de Bérose*, p. 283.

(2) R. P. F. Francisco Ximenez, *Las historias del origen de los Indios de esta provincia de Guatemala, traducidas de la lengua quiché*

Quiche text with a French translation by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg.(1) It is stated therein that after the creation the gods, having seen that animals were capable neither of speaking nor of worshiping them, wished to form men in their own image. They fashioned them at first of clay. But these men were without consistency; they could not turn their heads; they talked, but understood nothing. Then the gods destroyed their imperfect work by a deluge. Making a second attempt, they produced a man of wood and a woman of resin. These creatures were much superior to their predecessors; they moved about and lived, but after the fashion of animals; they talked, but not intelligibly, and they did not think about the gods. Then Hurakan, "the heart of heaven," god of the tempest, caused a rain of burning resin to fall on the earth, while simultaneously the ground was shaken by a fearful earthquake. All mankind, descended from the pair made of wood and resin, perished, with the exception of some few, who became apes of the forests. Finally, the gods made four perfect men out of white maize and yellow maize, viz.: Balam-Quitze, "the smiling Jaguar;" Balam-Agab, "the Jaguar of the night;" Mahuentah, "the famous name;" and Iqi-Balam, "the Jaguar of the

al Castellano para mas comodidad de los ministros de S. Evangelio, Vienna, 1857.

(1) *Popol-vuh. Le livre sacré et les mythes de l'antiquité américaine, avec les livres héroïques et historiques des Quichés. Ouvrage original des indigènes de Guatemala, texte quiché et traduction française en regard, accompagnée de notes philologiques et d'un commentaire sur la mythologie et les migrations des peuples anciens de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1861.

moon." They were large and strong; they saw everything and knew everything, and they gave thanks to the gods. But the latter were alarmed at the complete success of their work, and feared for their own supremacy; therefore they threw a light veil, like a mist, across the eyes of these four men, so that they became like the men who now live. While they were asleep, the gods created four wives of great beauty for them, and of three of these pairs were born the Quiches, Iqi-Balam and his wife, Cakixaha, never having had children. This series of awkward attempts at creating man on the part of the gods, who did not succeed in their design until after having been twice obliged to destroy their imperfect work, is very far removed from the Bible narrative, far enough, indeed, to dissipate any suspicion of influence from the teachings of the Christian missionaries upon the native Guatemalan narrative, in which we still come upon the belief that a primitive race of men was destroyed in the beginning of time by a great inundation.

We can prove this also in Nicaragua. Oviedo(1) tells us that Pedrarias Davila, governor of that province, in 1538 commissioned Father Bobadilla, of the order of St. Dominic, to make an inquiry into the spiritual state of the Indians, whom his predecessors boasted of having converted in great numbers to Catholicism, a fact of which Davila was not without reason incredulous. The Father interrogated the natives, and Oviedo has transmitted to us several dia-

(1) *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, l. xliii., chapters ii. and iii.

logues of this investigation, which throw some light upon the beliefs of the inhabitants of Nicaragua a few years after the Spanish conquest. The following bears directly upon our subject:[1]

Q. (Bobadilla.) Who created the heavens and the earth, the stars and the moon, man and all the rest?

A. (the Cacique Avogoaltegoan.) Tamagastad and Cippatoval; one is a man and the other a woman.

Q. Who created this man and this woman?

A. Nobody. On the contrary, all men and all women are descended from them.

Q. Did they create the Christians?

A. That I know not; but we Indians are descended from Tamagastad and Cippatoval.

Q. Are there other gods greater than they?

A. No; we believe that they are the greatest.

. . . .

. . . .

Q. Are these gods of flesh or of wood, or of quite a different substance?

A. They are of flesh; they are man and woman, and of a brown color, like us Indians. They walked on earth, dressed like us, and they ate what Indians eat.

Q. Who gave it to them?

A. Everything belongs to them.

Q. Where are they now?

A. In heaven, according to what our ancestors have told us.

Q. How did they get up there?

(1) See Girard de Rialle, *La Mythologie comparée*, vol. I., p. 282 et seq.

A. I only know that it is their dwelling-place. I know not how they were born, for they have neither father nor mother.

Q. How do they live now?

A. They eat what the Indians eat; for maize and all articles of food come from the place where the *teotes* (gods) live.

Q. Do you know, or did you ever hear, whether the world was ever destroyed after the *teotes* created it?

A. Before the present race existed the world was destroyed by water, and everything became sea.

Q. How did this man and woman escape?

A. They were in heaven, for they dwelt there, and afterwards they descended to earth and re-created everything as it now exists, and we are their offspring.

Q. You say that the world was destroyed by water. Were any individuals saved in a canoe or in any other fashion?

A. No; all the world was drowned, according to what my ancestors tell me.

The great god, Tamagastad, to whom this dialogue refers, is evidently identical with the Thomagata, the spirit of fire, of the terrible countenance, whose worship preceded that of Botchica [1] among a portion of the Muyscas, at Tunja and at Sogamosa. We are then carried back to the religious and cosmogonic traditions of the very high civilization of the lofty plateau of Cundinamarca, and are thus led to recognize in the diluvian tradition of Botchica some echo

(1) Girard de Rialle, *La Mythologie comparée*, vol. I., p. 280 et seq.

of the wide-spread tradition of the deluge of the primitive ages, associated with the remembrance of a local event, an extraordinary overflowing of the Funzha (now Rio Bogota), from which the ancestors of the Muyscas had suffered in the early times of their settlement in that country. It should not indeed be forgotten that Botchica and his wicked wife, Huythaca, who caused the inundation of Cundinamarca, are nothing more than personifications of the sun and moon, as are also the pair Manco-Capac and Mama-Oello in the empire of the Incas. Girard de Rialle makes the following correct observation:(1) "To the Peruvian the moon is mild and good; it aids its spouse and brother in his civilizing work; on the plateau of Cundinamarca, however, it appears as a sorceress, a genuine divinity of night and of evil, worthily represented by the melancholy screech-owl."

Some persons have imagined that the tradition of the deluge could be found among the Peruvians;(2) but criticism does away with this notion, which arises merely from an unintelligent interpretation and alteration of the myth of Viracocha or Con, god of the waters, or more exactly the personification of the humid element,(3) as shown by the legend which depicts him as boneless, yet, nevertheless, spreading himself far and wide, levelling the mountains and

(1) Vol. I., p. 277.

(2) Ulloa, *Mémoires sur la découverte de l'Amérique*, trad. Villebrune, vol. II., p. 346 et seq.; MacCulloch, *Researches, Philosophical and Antiquarian, concerning the Aboriginal History of America*, pp. 397–402.

(3) Girard de Rialle, *La Mythologie comparée*, vol. I., pp. 41, 256 et seq.

filling up the valleys in his progress.(1) He was the great god of the Aymaras, who, according to them, created the sun, and, issuing from Lake Titicaca to manifest himself upon the earth, gathered together the first men at Tiahuanaco.(2) Later on, the official cosmogony of the Incas subjected him to an euhemeristic transformation, in order to diminish his religious importance, representing him as one of the children of the Sun, come to earth to dwell among men and civilize them, being a younger brother of Manco-Capac.(3) Now, the writers of very late date who speak of the deluge make it coincide exactly with the reign of Viracocha, though the native record of this event is unfamiliar to the Inca Garcilaso de La Vega, to Montesinos, to Balboa, to Gomara, to P. Oliva, or, in short, to any of those writers who are of real authority as witnesses in matters regarding Peru. It is true that MacCulloch quotes Acosta(4) and Herrera,(5) but these authors say nothing

(1) Gomara, *La historia general de las Indias,* chap. xxii., edit. of Antwerp, 1544, fol. 159, obv.

(2) Greg. Garcia, *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo e Indias Occidentales* (Valencia, 1607; Madrid, 1729), l. v., ch. vii.

(3) Garcilaso de La Vega, *Primera parte de los Commentarios reales que tratan del origen de los Yncas, reyes que fueron del Peru, de su idolatria, leyes, y govierno en paz y en guerra, de sus vidas y conquistas, y de todo lo que fue aquel imperio y su republica, antes que los Espanoles passaron a el* (Lisbon, 1609; Madrid, 1723; reprinted at the head of the general edition of 1800), l. i., chap. xviii.

(4) *Historia natural y moral de las Indias; en que de tratan las cosas notables del cielo y elementos, metales, plantas y animales dellas, y los ritos y ceremonias, leyes y govierno y guerras de los Indios;* we have consulted the Barcelona edition, 1591.

(5) *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas i tier-*

whatever about mankind having been overwhelmed by a deluge; they merely state that Viracocha gave laws to the first men at the end of a primordial epoch, anterior to the creation of mankind, when all the surface of the earth was covered with water.(1)

Numerous legends in regard to the great inundation of primitive times have been discovered also among those American tribes which are still in a state of barbarism. But the very nature of these narratives leaves room for doubt concerning them. They were not embalmed in writing by the aborigines themselves. We know them only through media, who may, in perfectly good faith, have altered them considerably in reporting them, and almost unconsciously forced them into a resemblance to the Biblical records. Moreover, they were only recently collated, after the tribes had been already long in contact with Europeans, and more than one adventurer living among them might easily have introduced some foreign elements into their traditions. These narratives would hence be of but small value apart from the facts of positive authenticity which we have proved to exist

ra-firme del mar Oceano, Madrid, 1601–1615; Madrid, 1726–1730. [Eng. Trans., 1725–1726. Tr.]

(1) When Avendano (Sermon ix., p. 100, ed. of 1649) says that it was believed that after the deluge three eggs fell from heaven, one of gold, whence came forth the Curacas or princes; the other of silver, from which sprang the nobles, and the third of copper, whence issued the people, it is evidently this first aquatic period which he improperly designates as the deluge. The account is, moreover, of Aymara origin and not Quichua, and previous to the Inca period, for the Incas are not included in this original genealogy of mankind.

in Mexico, Guatemala and Nicaragua, which prove the fact of diluvian tradition among the peoples of America before the arrival of the European conquerors. With these facts to back them, the stories of the deluge among the illiterate tribes of the New World deserve to be mentioned, though with the reserve which we shall explain.

The most remarkable of these, as excluding by its very form the idea of the communication of the tradition through the Europeans, is the story told by the Cherokees, which seems like a childish version of the Hindu narrative, with this difference, that a dog is substituted for the fish as the saviour of the man who escapes the cataclysm; but this substitution may be traced to a myth peculiar to American soil, the transformation of fishes into dogs, which we mentioned just now as occurring in the diluvian narrative of the *Codex Chimalpopoca.*

"The dog," says the legend of the Cherokees, "ceased not for several days to run along the banks of the river with a singular persistence, looking fixedly at the water, and howling as in distress. His master, irritated by these manœuvres, ordered him in a rude voice to return to the house; then he began to speak, and revealed the misfortune which was threatening. He ended his prediction by saying that his master and family could hope to escape drowning only by throwing him, the dog, immediately into the water, and he would then become their saviour; that he would swim in search of a boat to ensure his own safety with those whom he wished to help in escaping, but that he had not a moment to

lose, for a terrible rain was about to ensue, which would produce a general inundation, in which all would perish. The man obeyed the dog's directions, and thus was saved with his family, and from them the earth was repeopled."(1)

The Tamanakis, a Carib tribe on the banks of the Orinoco, are credited with a diluvian legend, to the effect that a man and a woman alone escaped the cataclysm by climbing to the summit of Mount Tapanacu. There they are said to have thrown behind them, over their heads, some cocoa-nuts, from which issued a new race of men and women.(2) If the report is correct, which we dare not affirm, it offers a very curious coincidence with one of the essential features of the Hellenic legend of Deucalion and Pyrrha.

Russian explorers have ferreted out the existence of a childish narrative of the deluge in the Aleutian islands, which form the geographical chain between Asia and North America, and at the extremity of the North-West American coast, among the Koloshes.(3) The traveler Henry repeats this tradition, which he picked up among the Indians of the great lakes: "Formerly the father of the Indian tribes dwelt

(1) Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, p. 358 et seq. [ed. 1847. Tr.]

(2) Quoted by J. J. Stewart Perowne, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, article *Noah*, vol. II., p. 574. [Am. Ed., 1871, III., p. 2186. Tr.]

(3) Wenjaminow, *Notes upon the Islands in the District of Unalaska* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1840; F. Loewe, *Archiv für die wissenschaftliche kunde von Russland*, 1842, 3d part [vol. II., pp. 459–495. Tr.].

toward the rising sun. Having been warned in a dream that the earth was about to be devastated by a deluge, he built a raft, on which he was saved, with his family and all the animals. In this manner he floated upon the waters during several months. The animals, who could speak then, complained loudly, and murmured against him. At last a new earth emerged, and he disembarked upon it with all the creatures that were with him, who from that time henceforth lost the power of speech, as a punishment for their complaints against their preserver."(1) According to Father Charlevoix,(2) the Canadian tribes, and those of the Mississippi Valley, inform us in their rude legends that all human beings were destroyed by a flood, and that then the Great Spirit changed animals into men in order to repeople the earth. We are indebted to J. G. Kohl(3) for the Chippewa version, full of strange features, difficult to explain, where the man saved from the cataclysm is called Menaboshu.(4) He sends out a bird, the diver, from his boat in order to discover if the earth be dry; and having once more set foot upon the ground ravaged by the waters, he renews the human species and becomes the founder of society. Catlin(5)

(1) Thatcher, *Indian Traits*, vol. II., p. 108 et seq.

(2) *Histoire et description de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1744, vol. I. [Eng. Trans., New York, 1866–72. Tr.]

(3) *Kitschi-gami oder Erzæhlungen vom Obern-See* (Bremen, 1859), vol. I., p. 324 et seq.; vol. II., p. 256.

(4) This reads like a corruption of the Sanskrit Manu Vaivasvata.

(5) *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians*, 4th Ed. (London, 1844), vol. I., p. 181.

gathered from the Mandans a narrative, according to which the earth was a great tortoise floating upon the water,(1) until one day a tribe of white

(1) The same belief existed among the Lenapes (Heckewelder, *An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States*, 1819, p. 246. Revised Edition, Philadelphia, 1876, p. 253. This has been compared (G. D'Eichthal, *Revue Archéologique*, new series, vol. XI., p. 284 et seq.) with the *kurmavatara* (incarnation of the tortoise) of Vishnu, in the mythologic legends of India. This incarnation of the god is told in a curious epic narrative, an expansion of the *Astika-parva* of the *Mahâbhârata*, in which Baron Eckstein imagined, perhaps not unreasonably, that he recognized an echo of the volcanic cataclysm of primitive ages (*Journal Asiatique*, fifth series, vol. VI., p. 303 et seq. [1855, Oct.-Nov. Tr.]).

The gods and the genii, their rivals, the Asuras,—who appear in no way to differ from them in the beginning of this narrative—desire to secure the mysterious beverage which bestows immortality, *amrita* or ambrosia. They are to find it in the ocean, for the Hindu imagination constantly depicts the ocean as a second chaos, a receptacle of all treasures. In order to separate the *amrita* from the other elements with which it is mingled, the gods and the Asuras resolve to churn the ocean. They uproot Mount Mandara, and carry it into the midst of the waters. But it is necessary to prevent the mountain from being completely engulphed, thus sinking the world. At this point in the ancient narrative, Vishnuism brings in the incarnation of the deity Vishnu, who watches over the safety of the universe, and who, under the form of an enormous tortoise, plunges into the abyss, lifts the mountain and sustains it with the entire world upon his back. Mount Mandara is entwined in the coils of the huge serpent Vâsuki, and the Asuras seizing its head, the gods its tail, the sacred mountain turns round with their opposing efforts in the midst of the sea, "like a block of wood in the hands of the turner." The mountain takes fire, and the Asuras are blackened by contact with this fire and by the smoke which the serpent vomits forth from his jaws, and thus they have remained ever since. This churning has the effect, however, of bringing up a multitude of treasures from the ocean, besides supernatural

men, in digging the ground, pierced through the shell of the tortoise, which sank, so that the water flowing upon its back drowned all men, with the exception of one only, who escaped in a bark; and, when the earth began to re-emerge, he sent out a dove, who returned with a green willow branch in its beak. Here, again, we find Nôaḥ's dove, whose counterparts we have seen in the story of Tezpi and in that of Menaboshu; on this occasion the story is related exactly as in the Bible. But the genuine native origin of this characteristic, and of the whole narrative of the deluge among the Mandans, becomes more than suspicious, if we take into consideration the physical characteristics of this curious tribe on the banks of the Missouri, which caused Catlin (1) to regard it as being of mixed blood, reckoning some of the white element in its origin.

beings, which are complacently enumerated by the legend. Finally, Dhanvantari, the physician of the gods, appears, rising out of the abyss and carrying the *amrita* collected in a vase. The gods take possession of the precious beverage and divide it among themselves, without permitting the Asuras to touch it.

Then a terrible struggle ensues between the gods and the Asuras for the possession of the *amrita*. The spirits of darkness are vanquished and scatter over the world, attempting to make themselves masters of it and destroy it, in order to be avenged of the gods. A new cataclysm threatens the earth, for one of the giants is on the point of submerging it in the waves a second time. But at this juncture a new incarnation of Vishnu takes place. The god descends, at the prayer of Prithivi, in the form of a wild boar, triumphs over the giant, and lifting the earth upon his tusks restores it to its equilibrium upon the surface of the ocean. This is called the *varahavatara*, "the incarnation as a wild boar."

(1) Vol. I., p. 93 et seq.

In one of the songs of the people of New California, there was reference to a very remote epoch when the sea left its bed and covered the earth. All men and animals perished in consequence of this deluge, sent by the supreme god, Chinigchinig, with the exception of some few who sought refuge upon a high mountain which the water did not reach.(1) The United States Commissioners, engaged in the exploration of the territories of New Mexico at the time of their coming into the possession of the great American Republic, confirmed the existence of a similar tradition among various native tribes of this vast country.(2) Other narratives of the same kind have been discovered by other travelers in different parts of North America, bearing more or less striking resemblance to the Biblical account. But generally they are too vaguely told for absolute confidence in the details with which their reporters have accompanied them.(3)

As for Oceanica, one would hardly look for the diluvian tradition in the race of Pelagian or Papuan negroes,(4) but rather in the Polynesian race, native

(1) Duflot de Mofras, *Exploration du territoire de l'Orégon*, vol. II., p. 366 et seq.

(2) *Reports of Explorations and Surveys from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean* (1853–1854), vol. III. [Sen. Doc. 2d Sess. 33d Cong., vol. XIII., pt. 3]; *Report on the Indian Tribes*, p. 40 et seq.

(3) On these accounts as a whole, see H. de Charencey, *Le Déluge d'après les traditions indiennes de l'Amérique du Nord*, in the twelfth volume of the *Revue Orientale et Américaine* (or *Revue Américaine*, second series, vol. II.), pp. 88–98 and 310–320.

(4) Except at Fiji, where the Polynesians were for some time settled among the Melanasians, and were only destroyed by the

to the Australian archipelagoes, among whom it is found connected with circumstances suggested by the tidal waves which are among the most ordinary scourges of these islands. The most celebrated narrative of this kind is that of Tahiti,(1) which has been associated with the tradition of the first ages more emphatically than any of the others. But this

latter after having infused into the population an element strongly enough marked to make a mixed race of the Fijians, rather than a pure black race.

(1) We give here a translation of the Tahitian text, which was written by a native called Maré, as published by Gaussin (*Du dialecte de Tahiti, de celui des îles Marquises, et, en général, de la langue polynésienne*, pp. 255–259):

"Two men went forth to the open sea to fish with a line: Roo was the name of one, Tahoroa of the other. They cast their hook into the sea, and the hook caught in the hair of the god Ruahatu. Then they said: 'A fish!' They drew in the line and saw that it was a man they had caught by the hair. At the sight of the god they sprang to the other side of the canoe and almost expired with terror. Ruahatu asked them: 'What does this mean?' The two fishermen answered: 'We came hither to catch fish, and we did not know that thou wouldst be taken by our hook.' The god said to them then: 'Disentangle my hair,' and they did so. Then Ruahatu asked furthermore: 'What are your names?' They answered: 'Roo and Tahoroa.' Then said Ruahatu to them: 'Return to the shore, and tell all men that the earth will be covered by the sea and that every one will be destroyed. To-morrow morning betake yourselves to the large island called Toa-marama; that will be a place of safety for you and your children.'

"Ruahatu caused the sea to rise above the land. Every place was covered, and all people perished, excepting Roo, Tahoroa and their families."

A slightly different version has been given, but without the original text, by Ellis, in his *Polynesian Researches* [vol. I., p. 389 et seq. Tr.], and copied by Rienzi (*L' Océanie*, vol. II., p. 737).

account, like all the rest from the same part of the world where traditions of the deluge appear, wears the childish garb peculiar to the legends of the Polynesian or Kanak peoples; besides which, as Maury has justly observed,(1) the Tahitian account might easily find its explanation in a remembrance of one of those tidal waves of such frequent occurrence in Polynesia.(2) The most essential feature in all narratives of the deluge, properly so called, is lacking. "The island of Toa-marama, upon which, according to the Tahitian story, was found a place of safety for the fishermen who had excited the anger of the water-god, Ruahatu, by casting their hook into his hair, bears," says Maury, "no resemblance to the ark."(3) It is true that one version of the Tahitian legend adds that the two fishermen betook themselves to Toa-marama, not only with their families, but with a pig, a dog and a couple of hens, a circumstance which bears a close resemblance to the entering of the animals into the ark. On the other hand, certain features in the Fijian narrative,(4) no-

(1) Article *Déluge*, in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle.*—This opinion is also held by Gaussin.

(2) See, in regard to these tidal waves, Tessan, in the *Voyage de la Vénus*, vol. V., p. 197 et seq.

(3) Nevertheless, we notice that in the Iranian myth of Yima, to which we referred above (p. 429), a square enclosure (*vara*), miraculously preserved during the deluge, takes the place of the Biblical ark and the ship of the Chaldæan tradition.

(4) We give here this narrative as reported by Wilkes in the records of the Scientific Exploring Expedition undertaken by the United States Government [vol. III., p. 82. Tr.], and quoted from him by J. J. Stewart Perowne (in Smith's *Dictionary of the*

ticeably the statement that for many years after the event canoes were kept all ready in case of a repetition of the disaster, look very much more like a reference to a local phenomenon, like a tidal wave, than an universal deluge.

But if these legends are associated exclusively with local catastrophes, it is rather remarkable that they should be found to recur almost exactly alike in a certain number of widely separated localities, and that among the inhabitants of Oceanica they should not exist, saving in those places where we meet with, or at least find incontrovertible traces of the temporary sojourn of, a single race, the Polynesian, native to the Malay Archipelago, whence its first ancestors emigrated only about the fourth century of the Christian era,(1) at an epoch when gradually, in

Bible, article *Noah*, vol. II., p. 573 [Am. Ed., 1871, III., p. 2187. Tr.]):

"After the islands had been peopled, a great rain occurred, in consequence of which they were submerged. But before the highest mountain-tops were covered, two great double canoes were seen to appear. In one of them was Rokora, god of the carpenters; on the other, Rokola, his principal workman. They collected some men and kept them on board until the waters had retreated, after which they landed them again on the island. It was said that, in consequence of this, for a long time canoes were kept always ready, in case of a new inundation. The individuals thus saved, eight in number, had been landed at Mbenga, a place where the greatest of their gods is said to have made his first appearance. It is owing to this tradition that the chiefs of Mbenga ranked all the others, and always assumed the first place among the Fijians."

(1) See Quatrefage's admirable book on *Les Polynésiens et leurs migrations*, and the seventeenth chapter of his book on *L'espèce humaine*.

consequence of the intercourse between India and a portion of Malaysia,(1) the narrative of the deluge under its Hindu form, more or less corrupted, may easily have found its way to the latter country.(2) Without venturing, then, to decide this difficult, and perhaps altogether insoluble, question either in one way or the other, we cannot bring ourselves absolutely to condemn the opinion of those who, in the Polynesian accounts, two specimens of which we have already cited, think that they find an echo of the diluvian tradition, very faint, indeed, greatly corrupted, and more than elsewhere hopelessly involved with the remembrance of local disasters of a comparatively recent date.

The lengthy review of the subject in which we have just been engaged leaves us in a position to affirm that the account of the deluge is an universal tradition in all branches of the human family, with the sole exception of the black race. And a tradition everywhere so exact and so concordant cannot possibly be

(1) The date of the first settlements of the Brahmanist Hindus in Java remains doubtful (see Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II., p. 1040 et seq. [2d Ed., II., p. 1059 et seq. Tr.]); but at the end of the second century B. C. the Greek Iambulus (*ap.* Diod. Sic., II., 57) described with great exactitude, as the writing of this island, the Kavi Syllabary, borrowed from India (Jacquet, *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, vol. VIII., p. 29 [1831, Juillet] ; Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Ueber die Kawi-Sprache auf Java*, vol. I., p. 96 ; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II., p. 1059 [2d Ed., II., p. 1077. Tr.]).

(2) We note, however, that all reference to an account of the deluge is absent from the traditional songs of the Maoris of New Zealand, collected by Sir George Grey [*Polynesian Mythology*, London, 1855. Tr.].

referred to an imaginary myth. No religious or cosmogonic myth possesses this character of universality. It must necessarily be the reminiscence of an actual and terrible event, which made so powerful an impression upon the imaginations of the first parents of our species that their descendants could never forget it. This cataclysm took place near the primitive cradle of mankind, and previous to the separation of the families from whom the principal races were to descend, for it would be altogether contrary to probability and to the laws of sound criticism to admit that local phenomena exactly similar in character could have been reproduced at so many different points on the globe as would enable one to explain these universal traditions, or that these traditions should always have assumed an identical form, combined with circumstances which need not necessarily have suggested themselves to the mind in such a connection.

We observe, however, that the tradition of the deluge is perhaps not primitive in America, but an importation; and that it undoubtedly bears the marks of an importation among the occasional populations of the yellow race where it is found;(1) and, finally, that its genuine existence in Oceanica, among the Polynesians, is still doubtful. Three great races are left, whose assured inheritance it is, who did not borrow it from one another, but among whom the tradition is incontestably primitive, dating back to the most ancient memories of their ancestors. And

(1) See Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. IV., p. 121.

these three races are precisely those, and those alone, connected by the Bible with the descent from Nôaḥ, whose ethnic filiation is given in the tenth chapter of *Genesis*. This observation, which it does not seem to me possible to regard as of doubtful character, gives a singularly exact and historic value to the tradition recorded by the sacred book, and as presented in its pages, even though it may perhaps result in giving it a more restricted signification geographically and ethnologically. In our thirteenth chapter we shall try to discover whether actually, in the minds of the inspired writers of the Bible, the Deluge was universal in the proper sense, as it has generally been understood. Henceforth, however, we need not hesitate to state that the Biblical Deluge, far from being a myth, was an actual and historic fact, which overwhelmed at the very least the ancestors of the three races of Aryans or Indo-Europeans, Semites or Syro-Arabians, and Chamites or Kushites, in other words, the three great civilized races of the ancient world, who constitute the really superior type of mankind, before the ancestors of these three races were as yet separated, and which occurred in that Asiatic country which they inhabited conjointly. This view will be still more strongly confirmed by the facts we propose to investigate in the chapters which will form another part of this study, contained in a second volume shortly to make its appearance.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

THE COSMOGONIC NARRATIVES OF THE CHALDÆANS, BABYLONIANS, ASSYRIANS, AND PHŒNICIANS.

I.

CHALDÆA, BABYLONIA, AND ASSYRIA.

A.—Narrative of the Babylonians according to Damascius.

Among the barbarians, the Babylonians seem to pass over the first of all principles in silence, imagining two to begin with, Tavthe (*Tiamat*) and Apasôn (*Apsu*), making Apasôn the consort of Tavthe, whom they called the Mother of the Gods. The issue of their union, as they said, was an only son, Moymis (*Mummu*), who seems to me to stand for the visible world, offspring of the first two principles, from whom are subsequently produced another generation, Dache and Dachos (correct to: Lachmê and Lachmos = *Laḫamu* and *Luḫmu*). A third follows from the same parents, Kissarê (*Kî-shar*) and Assôros (*Asshur* = *Shar*), of whom three gods are born: Anos (*Ana* = *Anu*), Illinos (correct: Illimos, *Elim* = *Bel*), and Aos (*Êa*); finally, the son of Aos (*Êa*) and of Davkê (*Davkina*) is Bêlos (*Bel-Marduk*), called by them the demiurge.—(Damasc., *De prim. princip.*, 125, p. 384, ed. Kopp.)

B.—Fragment of a Theogonic Cuneiform Tablet.

The heaven	(is) the god Anu
The earth	— the goddess Anat
The heavens and the earth	(are) Anu and Anat

Urash and Nin-urash [1]	—	Anu and Anat
Shar-gal and Kîshar-gal	—	Anu and Anat
Eni-shar and Nin-shar	—	Anu and Anat
Du-uru and Da-uru	—	Anu and Anat
Luḫma and Laḫma	—	Anu and Anat
Alala and Tillili	—	Anu and Anat
Eni-uru-ulla and Nin-uru-ulla	—	Anu and Anat

—(*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. II., pl. 54, 3, obv.; vol. III., pl. 69, 1, obv.)

C.—Fragments of a Great Cosmogonic Narration in several Tablets or Cantos discovered by George Smith.

1. *Fragment of the Beginning of the First Tablet.*

Text in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. IV., pl. 1 at p. 363; Fried. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2d Ed., p. 78 (B, 1, *a*).

Translations by: G. Smith, *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 62 et seq. [Rev. Ed., p. 57 et seq. Tr.]; Fried. Delitzsch, *G. Smith's Chaldæische Genesis*, pp. 294–298; Oppert, in E. Ledrain's *Histoire d'Israël*, vol. I., p. 411 et seq.

1. *enuva* *eliš* *la* *nabû* *šamamu*
When above not named the heaven

2. *šapliš* *[irçi]tuv* *šuma* *la* *zakrat*
below the earth by name not called

3. *apsu* *va* *la* *patû* *zarušun*
the abyss also without boundaries (was) their generator

4. *mummu-tiamat* *muallidat* *gimrišun*
the chaos of the sea she who produced the whole of them

5. *mêšunu* *išteniš* *iḫiqû* *va*
their waters in one flowed together and

6. *gipara* *la* *giççura* *çuçâ* *la* *šêh*
a flock not was folded a plant not had put forth

7. *enuva* *ilâni* *la* *šupû* *manama*
when of the gods not produced any one

8. *šuma* *la* *zukkuru* *šimatav* *la* *[šimat*
by name not they were named the fate not fixed

(1) The divine names explained here belong to the Accadian or Sumerian language.

9. *ibbanû*	*va*	*ilâni*	[*rabuti*
were formed	also	the gods	great
10. *Luḫmu*	*Laḫamu*	*yuštapû*	
Luḫmu (and)	Laḫamu	were produced	
11. *adi*	*irbû*	*ina*	
and	they grew	in	
12. *Aššur*	*Ki-šar*	*ibbanû*	
Asshur (and)	Kîshar	were formed	
13. *yurriku*	*yume* . . .		
were prolonged	the days . . .		
14. *Anuv*			
Anu			
15. *Aššur*			
Asshur			

When above the heavens were not yet named,
and, below, the earth was without a name,
the limitless abyss (*apsu*) was their generator
and the chaotic sea (*Mummu-Tiamat*) she who produced the whole.
Their waters flowed together in one,
no flock of animals was as yet collected, no plant had sprung up.
When none of the gods had as yet been produced,
when they were not designated by a name, when no fate was as yet [fixed,
the great gods were then formed,
Luḫmu and Laḫamu were produced [first
and they grew in [solitude.
Asshur and Kîshar were produced [next
Then] rolled on a long course of days [and
Anu, [Bel and Êa
were born] of Asshur and of [Kîshar.

2. *Fragment belonging probably to the Third Tablet.*

I reproduce the translation of G. Smith (*Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 67 [Rev. Ed., p. 62. Tr.]), not having been able to verify the text. Mr. Pinches, at my request, was kind enough to search, though without success, for the original fragment in the British Museum, Smith not having indicated its location.

When the foundations of the ground of rock [thou didst make]
the foundation of the ground thou didst call . . .

thou didst beautify the heaven . . . . .
to the face of the heaven . . . .
thou didst give . . . .

3. *Fragment belonging probably to the Fourth Tablet.*

Here again I have been obliged to confine myself to a copy of G. Smith's translation (*Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 67 et seq. [Rev. Ed., p. 62 et seq. Tr.]), not being able to compare it with the original. Mr. Pinches so far has been unable to find it, owing to its locality not being indicated among the collections of the British Museum. This circumstance is the more to be regretted since this fragment, owing to the special prominence given in it to Assyria, is the very one which settles most clearly the peculiarly Assyrian character of the cosmogony whence it proceeds.

The god Assur (Accadian *Shar*) . . . . .
When to the god . . . .
Certainly. I will cover (?) . . . . . . (1)
from the day that thou . . . . . .
angry thou didst speak . . . . . .
Assur his mouth opened and spake to the goddess [Sheruya (Accadian *Kî-shar*)
"Above the sea which is the seat of . . . . . .
in front of the firmament (2) which I have made . . . . . .
below the place I strengthen it . . . . . .
that there be made also the dry land (3) for the dwelling of . .
within it his city may he build and . . . .
When from the earth he raised . . . .
the place . . . . lifted up . . . . .
above . . . . heaven . . . . .
the place . . . . lifted up . . . . .
. . . . . Assyria, (4) the temples of the great gods
. . . . . his father and his . . . . . of him
the god . . . thee and over all which thy hand has made

(1) This remark seems to have been put into the mouth of the goddess Kî-shar, called in Assyrian-Semitic Sheruya, consort of the god Shar, or Asshur.

(2) *e-shara.*

(3) Expressed by the ideographic group *E.LU.*

(4) Expressed by the compound ideograms *BAL.BE.KI*, on the signification of which see Norris, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 535.

. . . . thee, having over the earth which thy hand has made
. . . . having Assyria which thou hast called its name
. . . made (?) my hand for ever. . . .
. . . may they carry
the place . . . . any one the work which. . . .
he rejoiced . . . . to after . . . .
the gods . . . . .
which in . . . . .
he opened . . . . ."

4. *Fragment of the Fifth Tablet.*

The text in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. IV., pl. 2, at p. 363; Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2d Ed., p. 78 et seq. (B, 1, *b*).

First translation by G. Smith, *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 69 et seq. [Rev. Ed., p. 64 et seq. Tr.] Observations of Friedrich Delitzsch, giving the grammatical interpretation of part of the text: *G. Smith's Chaldæische Genesis*, p. 298 et seq. New translation by Oppert, in E. Ledrain's *Histoire d'Israël*, vol. I., p. 412 et seq.

1. *yubaššim* *manzazi* *ina menuti*
He made excellent the mansions . . . . in number
ilâni *rabuti*
of the gods great

2. *kakkabi* *yutaršunu* *LU. maši*
of the stars he assigned to them, the stars of the Great [Bear(1)
yušziz
he fixed

3. *yuaddi* *šatta* *eli*[*ša*] *miçrata*
he fixed the time of the year for it limit
yu[*m*]*aççir*
he settled

4. *šanešrit* *arḫi* *kakkabi* *šalšati* *ina menuti*
twelve months stars three in number
yušziz
he fixed

(1) I will justify this interpretation in a subsequent work.

5. *ištu yumi ša šattu yuççi ana uçurati*
from the day on which the year begins to the end

6. *yušarrit manzaz Nibiri ana*
he determined the mansions of the planets for
addû rikšišun
defining their bands

7. *ana la ebiš anni la egû manama*
for not to make omission not to turn aside any

8. *manzaz Beli u Êa yukin ittišu*
the abodes of Bel and of Êa he fixed with himself (1)

9. *ipte va abulli ina çili kilallan*
he opened also the great gates in the sides perfectly

10. *šigaru yudannina šumela u imna*
the bolt he made strong to left and to right

11. *ina kabadtiša*(2) *va ištakan elâti*
in his majesty also he made himself steps

12. *Nannaru yuštepâ muša iktipa*
Nannar (the moon) he made to shine to the night he [joined

13. *yuaddišuvva šuknat muši*
and he fixed for it the time of the existence of the night
ana uddû yumi
for fixing the days

14. *arhišav la naparkâ ina agi[šu]*
monthly without interruption in its disk
yuçir
he determined its form

15. *ina riš arhi va napahi*
"In the beginning of the month also on the appearance
lilâti
of the evening

16. *qarni nabâta ana uddû*
by thy horns thou shalt be announcing for fixing the time
šamamu
of the heaven

(1) It is plainly evident from this that the work of organizing the heavens, and the determination of the movements of the stars, were attributed to the god Anu, for the Chaldæo-Assyrians divided the celestial vault into three parts, called respectively the abodes of Anu, of Bel, and of Ea.

(2) This appears to be a copyist's error for *kabadtišu.*

17. *ina yumi sibî agâ [tuštam]la*
in the day seventh the disk thou shalt be in the act [of filling

18. *yupattu lû šuḫurat meš . . . . u*
they will open surely the obscurity . . . .

19. *e]nuva šamšu ina išid šame ina [açi]ka*
when the sun at the foundation of heaven at thy rising

20. . . . *usti šutaqçibavva bini agu(?)š*
. . . . . defines the precise limits forms his circle

21. . . . *tar ana ḫarran šamši šutaqrib [va*
turns toward the path of the sun approach and

22. . . . *tar lû šuḫurat šamšu lušana*
. . . . turns surely the obscurity the sun may it change

23. . . . . *si(?)ta ba'i uruḫša*(1)
. . . . . . goest his path

(24.) . . . . *šuriba va dina dinu*
. . . . set thou also by law ordained"

Excellently he made the mansions [twelve] in number for the great gods.(2)

He assigned to them stars and he established fixedly the stars of the Great Bear.

He fixed the time of the year and determined its limits.

For each of the twelve months he fixed three stars,

from the day when the year begins until its end.(3)

He determined the mansions of the planets to define their orbits by a fixed time,

so that none of them may fall short, and none be turned aside.

(1) Here seems to be another copyist's error for *uruhšu.*

(2) "There are twelve ruling gods above the Counsellor gods, each presiding over one of the twelve months of the year and one of the twelve signs of the Zodiac."—(Diod. Sic., II., 30)

(3) "Over the course of the five planets are placed, according to the Chaldæans, thirty [six] stars, called the Counsellor gods; half of these look toward the places on the surface of the earth; these Counsellors inspect everything that happens among men and in heaven at the same moment of time. Every ten days one of them is sent as a messenger of the stars, from the upper to the lower regions, while another quits the region located below the earth in order to ascend to those who are above; this movement is exactly defined and continues constantly, in a period which does not vary."—(Diod. Sic., II., 30.)

He fixed the abodes of Bel and of Êa near his own.
He opened also perfectly the great gates (of heaven),
making their bolts solid to right and to left;
and in his majesty he made himself steps there.(1)
He made Nannar (the moon) to shine, he joined it to the night,
and he fixed for it the seasons of its nocturnal phases which determine the days.
For the entire month without interruption he settled what should be the form of its disk.
"In the beginning of the month, when evening begins,
thy horns will serve for a sign to determine the times of the heavens.(2)
The seventh day(3) thou wilt be in the act of filling out thy disk,
but the . . . . . will [partly] expose its dark side.(4)

(1) These are the steps by which the ascent is made from the gate of the East, through which the sun appears in the morning, to the uppermost point of heaven, descending thence again to the gate of the West, through which the sun vanishes in setting.

(2) The observation of the new moons was of prime importance among primitive nations, and to the very last the Hebrews had no other method for determining the beginning of the months (see Munk, *Palestine* p. 183), as is the case with the nomad Arabs of to-day. I can affirm, of my own experience, how skillful their practised eye is in detecting the almost imperceptible crescent of the new moon as it clears the solar disk at the moment of the sun's disappearance below the horizon; not having accustomed ourselves to it, our eyes are incapable of the same close observation.

(3) In the first quarter.

(4) In order to understand this description of the lunar phases, it is necessary to refer to a passage of Vitruvius (IX., 7, 4): *Berossus, qui, a Chaldœorum civitate sive natione progressus, in Asiam etiam disciplinam patefecit, ita est professus (lunam) pilam esse ex dimidia parte candentem, reliqua habere cœruleo colore. Quum autem cursum itineris sui peragens subiret orbem solis, tunc eam radiis et impetu caloris corripi, convertique candentem propter ejus proprietatem luminis ad lumen. Quum autem ea evocata ad solis orbes superiora spectet, tunc inferiorem partem ejus, quod candens non sit, propter aeris similitudinem obscuram videri. Quum ad perpendiculum exstet, ad ejus radios totum lumen ad superiorem speciem retineri et tunc eam vocari primam. Quum prœteriens vadit ad orientis cœli partes, relaxari ab impetu solis extremamque ejus partem candentiœ oppido quam tenui linea ad terram mittere splendorem, et ita ex eo eam secundam vocari. Quotidiana autem versationis remissione tertiam, quartam in dies numerari. Septimo die sol quum sit ad occidentem, luna autem inter orientem et occidentem medias cœli teneat regiones, quod dimidia parte cœli spatio distet a sole, item dimidiam candentiœ conversam habere ad terram. Inter solem vero et lunam quum distet totum mundi spatium, et luna*

When the sun descends towards the horizon at the moment of thy rising,(1)
the limits exactly defined [of thy fulness] form its circle.
Afterwards] turn, draw near the path of the sun,(2)
. . . . turn, and let the sun change (the side where may be seen) thy dark part.
. . . . walk in its path.(3)
Rise] and set, subject to the law of this destiny."

5. *Fragment of the Beginning of a Tablet, probably the Seventh.*

Text in Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2d Ed., p. 79 (B, 1, *c*).

Translation by G. Smith, *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 76. [Rev. Ed., p. 71. Tr.] Observations by Friedrich Delitzsch on some of the expressions of the text: *G. Smith's Chaldæische Genesis*, p. 299 et seq.

1. *enuva* *ilâni* *ina* *puḫrišunu* *ibnû*
When the gods in their assembly had created
. . . .
. . . .

2. *yubaššimu* . . *rumi* *iqçu*[*ti*
they made excellent the . . . . awakened.

3. *yušapû* *šiknat* *napišti* . . . .
they produced creatures living . . . . . .

4. *pul* *çeri* *uvav* *çeri* *u*
cattle of the field wild beasts of the field and
nammaššê . . . .
creeping things . . .

5. . . . . *ana* *šiknat* *napišti* . . . .
. . . . for the creatures living . . . .

orientis orbem solis retrospiciens quum transit ad occidentem, eam quod longius absit a radiis remissam, quarta decima die plena rota totius orbis mittere splendorem, reliquosque dies descrescentia quotidiana ad perfectionem lunaris mensis versationibus et cursu, a sole revocationibus subire totam, radiosque ejus menstruas dierum efficere rationem.

In my *Choix de Textes Cuneiformes*, No. 22, may be found a table of the moon's phases, indicating the extent of the bright part of her disk for each day of the month.

(1) In the middle of the month, the day of the full moon.
(2) During the last quarter.
(3) When the new moon is about to appear.

6\. . . . . *pul* *u* *nammaššê* *ali*
. . . . the cattle and creeping things of the city
yuça' [*iru*
they raised

7\. . . . . *pu*]*ḫri* *nammašti* *gimir*
. . . . the assembly of the creeping things the whole
nabniti . . . .
of the creatures . . . .

8\. . . . . *ša* *ina* *puḫri* *kimtiya* *še* . . . .
. . . . which in the assembly of my family . . . . .

9\. . . . . *va* *Bel-ini-elli* *šane*
. . . . and the Lord of the far-seeing eye two
çuḫa[*bušunu*
caused to be associated

10\. . . . . *puḫri* *nammašti* *yuštarriḫi*
. . . . the assembly of the creeping things began to move
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

The fragments of the four verses following are too mutilated to admit of any certain or connected meaning.

When the gods all together had formed . . . . .
they made excellently the . . . . . awakened.
They produced the living beings [on the earth,
the cattle of the fields, the wild animals of the fields, and the creeping things [of the fields . . . .
. . . . for the living beings . . . . .
they raised up . . . . . [for] the cattle and the creeping things of the city.
. . . . the assemblage of creeping things, the whole of the creatures . . . .
. . . . which in the assemblage of my family . . . .
. . . . and the Lord of the clear-seeing eye [Êa] joined them together in a pair.(1)
. . . . all the creeping beasts together began to move. . . . . .

(1) This perhaps refers to the creation of the first human pair, of which Ea is the special creator, and to a record similar to that of *Genesis* ii. 19, where all the animals pass in review before the man.

D.—Extract from Berossus by Abydenus.

There was nothing but water in the beginning, and that was called the Sea (*Tiamat*); Bêlos (*Bel-Marduk*) put an end to this state of things, by assigning to everything its place in the world. —(*Ap.* Euseb. *Præpar. evangel.*, IX., 41; *Chronic. Armen.* [I., 10, 2], p. 27, ed Mai; Fragment 3 of my edition.)

E.—Extract from Berossus by Alexander Polyhistor.

There was a time when all was darkness and water, and from the midst thereof issued spontaneously monstrous animals and the most peculiar figures: men with two wings, and others with four, with two faces or two heads, one of a man, the other of a woman, on one body, and with the two sexes together; men with goats' legs and goats' horns, or with horses' hoofs; others with the hinder parts of a horse and the foreparts of a man, like the hippocentaurs. There were, besides, human-headed bulls, dogs with four bodies and fishes' tails, horses with dogs' heads, animals with the head and body of a horse and the tail of a fish, other quadrupeds in which all sorts of animal shapes were confused together, fishes, reptiles, serpents, and every kind of marvelous monster presenting the greatest variety in their shapes, representations of which may be seen in the paintings of the temple of Bêlos.(1) A woman, named Omoroca (*Um-Uruk*, "the mother of Uruk"), presided over this creation; in the Chaldæan language she bears the name of Thavatth (*Tiamat*), signifying in Greek "the sea," and she is also identified with the moon.

Things being in this condition, Bêlos (*Bel-Marduk*) came upon the scene and cut the woman in half; of the lower part of her body he made the earth, and of the upper half the heavens, and all the creatures that were in her disappeared. This is a figurative way of explaining the production of the universe and of animated beings from humid matter Bêlos then cut off his own head, and the other gods having kneaded the blood flowing from it with the earth, formed men, who by that means were gifted with understanding, and made participants of divine thought.

[Thus it was that] Bêlos, interpreted by the Greeks as signifying Zeus, having divided the darkness, separated the heavens and

(1) The famous *E-shakil*, often mentioned in cuneiform texts, the great pyramidal temple of Bel-Marduk at Babylon.

the earth, and ordered the world; and all animated beings who were not able to endure the action of light perished. Bêlos, seeing that the earth was a desert, though fertile, commanded one of the gods to cut off his head, and kneading the blood which flowed with earth, he produced men, as well as those animals who are able to live in contact with the air.—Then Bêlos also formed the stars, the sun, the moon, and the five planets.—(*Ap.* Syncell., p. 29; Euseb., *Chronic. Armen.* [I., 2, 4], p. 10, ed. Mai; Fragment 1 of my edition.)

F.—Fragment of an Epic Account of the Combat of Marduk against Tiamat.

The text in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. IV., pl. 5 and 6, at p. 363; Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2d Ed., p. 82 et seq. (B, 1, *e*).

Translations by: G. Smith, *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 95–98 [Rev. Ed., pp. 109–112. Tr.]; Fox Talbot, *Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology*, vol. V., pp. 1–21; Oppert, in E. Ledrain, *Histoire d'Israël*, vol. I., pp. 418–421.

It seems very evident to me that we have here the remains of a narrative, developed under an epic form, of the cosmogonic combat which Berossus simply mentions as having taken place.

Obverse:

1\. . . . . *yukinši* . . . . . .
. . . . he established it . . . .

2\. . . . . . *ubadda* *imnašu* *yušaḫiz*
. . . . . the instrument at his right hand he had seized

3\. . . . *u* *išpatuv* *iduššu* *ilul*
. . . and the quiver his hand suspended.

4\. *iš*]*kun* *birqa* *ina* *panišu*
he made the lightning in front of him

5\. . . . . *va* *muštaḫmeṭu* *zumuršu* *yumtalli*
. . . . also impetuous his body filled.

6\. *e*]*buš* *va* *sapara* *šulvû* *kirbiš* *Tiamat*
he made also the cimeter to penetrate into the body of Tiamat.

7 *irbitti* *šâri* *yušteçbita* *ana* *la* *açê* *rakmiša*
The four winds he kept near him for not to go out his attacks

8. *šûtu* *iltanu* *šadû*
the wind of the south the wind of the north the wind of [the east
aḫarru
the wind of the west.

9. *iduš* *sapara* *yuštaqriba* *qišti*
his hand the cimeter placed at the side of the bow
abišu *Aniv*
of his father Anu

10. *ibni* *imḫulla* *šâra* *limna* *meḫâ*
he created the bad wind the wind hostile the waterspout
ašamšutuv
the hurricane

11. *šâri* *irbitti* *šâri* *sibitti* *šâra* *muaššiša*
winds four winds seven the wind devastator
šâra *la* *šalme*
the wind without calm

12. *yušeçavva* *šâri* *ša* *ibnû*
he made to go out also the winds which he had created
sibitti *šun*
seven them

13. *kirbiš* *Tiamat* *šudluḫu* *tibû*
in the body of Tiamat (to) carry confusion rushing
arkišu
one after another.

14. *išši* *va* *beluv* *abuba* *kakkašu*
He raised also master the whirlwind his weapon
rabâ
great.

15. *narkabata* *šimat* *la* *maḫri* *qalitta*
the chariot steady without rival which was level
irkub
he mounted

16. *izziz* *va* *irbit* *naçmadi* *iduššа* (1)
he held himself firm and the four reins his hand
ilul
kept together.

17. . . . . . *la* *padû* *raḫiçu* *muarḫišša*
. . . . without wavering inundator with no compassion [for her.

(1) Evidently a copyist's error for *iduššu*.

18. . . . . *it*]*ti* *šunnašunu* *našâ* *imta*
. . . . with their sting carrying the venom

19. . . . . *yusapana* *lamdu*
. . . . they swept the knowledge (?)

20. . . . . *ça* *rašba* *u* *tuquntuv*
. . . . the fury and the battle

21. *šumela* . . . . *ipattu* . . . . . .
to the left . . . . they open . . . . . .

22. . . . . *iš* . . . *ti* *pulḫati* . . . .
. . . . the terrors . . . .

23. . . . . *pi* *iršašuššu*
. . . . he broke it.

24. . . . . *ḫašu* *yušardi* *va*
. . . . his . . . . he added and

25. . . . . *panuššu* *iškun*
. . . . before him he made

26. . . . . *yukallu*
. . . . he shut up.

The remains of three verses follow, containing only some characters at the end; and then comes a gap, the extent of which we are unable to conjecture.

Reverse:

Too small a portion of the first ten lines of the fragment remains to suggest any connected meaning. We take up the text at the point where Marduk, brought face to face with Tiamat, addresses her just before engaging in the combat.

11. . . . . *nêti* *teššeʾe* *va*
" . . . . . . thou hast flung thyself and

12. . . . . *limuttiki* *tuktinni*
. . . . thy hostility thou hast fixed against me.

13. *la* *šidat* *ummatki* *lulakku* *zumrišunu*
Not prevailing (is) thy troup, let strike their body
kakkiki
thy arms!

14. *endivva* *anaka* *u* *kâši* *nibuš*
Turn thee about and I and thou we will make
šašma
a combat."

15. *Tiamat* *annita* *ina* *semiša*
Tiamat this in hearing it

16. *maḫḫur* *itemi* *yušanni* *ṭenša*
at first was stupefied she changed her resolve

17. *issi* *va* *Tiamat* *šitmuriš* *elita*
examined also Tiamat attentively above

18. *šuršiš* *malmališ* *idrura* *išdâ[ša*
strongly completely she fortified her base.

19. *imanni* *šipta* *ittanamdi* *tâ* . . .
She prepared an incantation she placed herself . . . .

20. *u* *ilâni* *ša* *taḫazi* *yuša' alušunu*
and the gods of the battle she made them raise
kakkišunu
their weapons.

21. *innindu* *va* *Tiamat* *abkal* *ilâni*
Assailed also Tiamat the herald of the gods
Marduka
Marduk

22. *šašmiš* *iddibbu* *qitrubu*
in combat they flung themselves ardently they united
taḫaziš
in battle.

23. *yušparir* *va* *beluv* *saparašu* *yurakmiši*
Drew also the lord his cimeter he struck her

24. *imḫulla* *çabit* *arkati* *panuššu*
the bad wind which takes from behind before him
yumtaššir
he loosened.

25. *ipte* *va* *pîša* *Tiamat* *ana* *la' atišu*
Opened also her mouth Tiamat for to swallow it

26. *imḫullu* *yušteriba* *ana* *la*
the bad wind he had made to enter so as not
katam *šaptiša*
to close her lips.

27. *izzuti* *šâri* *karšaša* *izanu* *va*
The violence of the winds her stomach fill and

28. *innitar* *libbaša* *va* *pâša* *yušpalqi*
she grows faint in her heart and her mouth she twists.

29. *issuq* *mulmulla* *iḫtepi*
he carried in front the sharp weapon he split open
karašša
her stomach

30. *kirbiša* *yubattiqa* *yušallit* *libbaša*
her entrails he severed he pierced her heart

31. *iqmiši* *va* *napšataš* *yupalli*
he struck her down and her life he severed.

32. *šalamša* *idda* *eliša* *izaza*
Her decease he perceives on her he erects himself proudly

33. *ultu* *Tiamat* *alik* *pani* *inaru*
After that Tiamat walking before was overthrown

34. *kizriša* *yuptarrira* *puḫarša* *issapiḫa*
her soldiers he dispersed her cohort was scattered

35. *u* *ilâni* *riçuša* *aliku* *idiša*
and the gods her help who came to her side

36. *ittarru* *iplaḫu* *yusiḫḫiru* *arkatsunu*
trembled became afraid returned behind them

37. *yušeçu* *va* *napšatuš* (1) *ediru*
they saved themselves and their lives put in safety

38. *yuš*]*talamû* *naparšudiš* *la* *li'e*
they hid themselves taking flight without valiance.

39. . . . . *bušunuti* *va* *kakkišunu* *yušabbir*
He . . . . them and their weapons he broke

40. . . . . *periš* *nadu* *va* *kamariš*
as . . . . they were beaten and in sadness
ušbu
they were seated.

Seven more verses follow, which are extremely obscure and go on with the description of the vanquished and crushed condition of the auxiliaries of Tiamat. These may be omitted without inconvenience or changing the general sense of the text. I stop short here with my translation, finding it the part of wisdom to confess that I do not yet understand these verses, rather than attempt to present a version far too conjectural, for which I could not conscientiously be responsible. (2)

(1) Here is evidently an error for *napšatušunu;* otherwise the phrase would convey no meaning.

(2) The reader may be able to form some idea of the difficulties offered

. . . . He took the instrument in his right hand and] he suspended [the bow] and the quiver.

He shot a flash of lightning before him,

and an impetuous [fury] filled his body.

He made also the cimeter which was to penetrate the body of Tiamat.

He held back the four winds, so that her attacks could not be produced without,

the south wind, the north wind, the east wind and the west wind.

His hand placed the cimeter beside the bow of his father Anu.

He created the bad wind, the hostile wind, the waterspout, the hurricane,

in these verses by the difference in the three versions so far given of them.

G. Smith:

41. Knowing their capture, full of grief,
42. their strength removed, shut in bonds,
43. and at once the strength of their work was overcome with terror,
44. the throwing of stones going . . . . .
45. He cast down the enemy, his hand . . . . .
46. part of the enemy under him . . . . .
47. and the god Kingu again .

Fox Talbot:

41. A crowd of followers, full of astonishment,
42. Its remains (Tiamat's) lifted up and on their shoulders hoisted.
43. And the eleven tribes pouring in after the battle
44. in great multitudes, coming to see,
45. gazed at the monstrous serpent . . . .
46. and . . . . .
47. And the god Bel . . . . .

Oppert:

41. Their strength was vanished, their hand was withered.
42. That which remained was led and disappeared like a *kisuk.*
43. And the eleven offspring, terror filled them;
44. A deluge without . . came to swallow them up.

. . . .

Below we give the transcription of the text:

41. *mu* (?) *du tubqâti malû dumamu.*
42. *šeritsu našu kalu kišukkiš.*
43. *u ištin ešrit nabniti šupar pulhati izanu.*
44. *milla galle aliku kalu . . . ša.*
45. *ittadi cirreti idišu. . . . . .*
46. *gadu tuqmatišunu šapalšu . . . . .*
47. *u* (*AN*) *kin . . . . ša . ni . an . . . . .*

four winds, seven winds, the devastating wind, the ceaseless wind;
and he loosened the winds that he had created, seven in number,
to carry ruin to the body of Tiamat by rushing after her.
He raised up, also, as master, the tempest, his great weapon.
He mounted a solid chariot, without a rival, which leveled everything before it.
He stood erect in it, and his hand held together the four pairs of reins.
. . . . . . without growing feeble, inundator, merciless for her.
The two . . . . whose fangs carried a venom,(1)
which] . . . . . efface all knowledge.
. . . . . . the fury and the battle . . . .
to left [and to right of her] opened [their jaw
. . . . the terrors . . . .
. . . . he broke it
. . . . he added his . . . . and
He made . . . . . before him.
He shut up . . . . .

. . . .
. . . .
. . . .

". . . Thou hast precipitated thyself [upon me] and
. . . . . thou hast directed thy hostility against me.
But thy troop will not prevail, and it is their bodies which thy weapons will strike.
Turn thee about, and thou and I will engage in a single combat."
Tiamat, when she heard this,
was at first stupefied, and altered her resolution.
She examined attentively above,
and she fortified strongly and completely her position.
She prepared an incantation, she placed herself . . . . .
and she caused the gods who were fighting [with her] to take their weapons.
And Tiamat assailed the herald of the gods, Marduk;

(1) Evidently it refers here to the two infernal monsters, Tiamat's auxiliaries.

they flung themselves impetuously the one on the other in combat, and they met in battle.
The lord drew forth his cimeter and struck her.
He let loose before him the evil wind, which attacks from behind:
And Tiamat opened her mouth to swallow him,
but he had caused to enter into her the evil wind in such wise that she could not shut her mouth.
The violence of the wind fills her stomach;
her heart sinks, and her face is distorted.
He (Marduk) carried in front his sharp weapon; he broke her stomach;
he cut her in the middle, and pierced her heart;
he overcame her and cut short her life.
He perceived her decease, and he raised himself proudly above her.
When Tiamat, who walked before them, was conquered,
he dispersed her soldiers; her cohort was scattered,
and the gods, her allies, who marched by her side,
trembled, feared, and turned back.
They sought refuge to save their lives,
and they hid themselves as fugitives, despoiled of courage.
But [he fell] upon them, and broke their arms.
As . . . they were cut down, sitting in sadness.

. . . .

G.—Fragment which appears to belong to the same Narrative.

The text may be read upon Tablet K 3449 of the British Museum. I reproduce Smith's translation: *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 94. [Cf. Rev. Ed., p. 108. Tr.]

This fragment would appear to belong to that portion of the poem anterior to the one which we have just cited. It refers, in fact, to the description of Marduk's preparations when armed by the gods for his contest with Tiamat.

heart . . . . . .
burning . . . . . .
from . . . . .
in the temple . . . .
may he fix . . . . .
the dwelling of the god . . .

the great gods . . . . .
the gods said (?) . . . .
the sword that was made the gods saw
and they saw also the bow that was strung . . . . .
the work that was made they placed . . .
carried also Anu in the assembly of the gods . .
the bow he fitted . . . .
and he spake of the bow thus, and said
"Noble wood, who shall first thus draw thee?
against whom?
speed her punishment the star of the bow in heaven . . . .
and establish the resting-place of . . . . .
from the choice of . . . . . .
and place his throne . . . . . .
. . . . . . in heaven . . . .
. . . .

It is possible that the fragments of tablets marked in the British Museum K 4832, 3473, and 3938 contain also some remains of the same epic narrative, though in a condition too mutilated to be of any service to us. An attempt at a rendering of the last two may be found in George Smith, *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 92 et seq. [Rev. Ed., p. 107, gives only K 3938. Tr.]

H.—Epic Fragment of the Tradition of Kuti (Cutha) on the First Monstrous Births produced in the Womb of the Universe while still in a State of Chaos.

I reproduce the translation of Sayce (*Records of the Past*, vol. XI., p. 109 et seq.), made from the original, which strikes me as much superior to that of G. Smith (*Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 102 et seq. [See Sayce in Rev. Ed., p. 92 et seq. Tr.]). The text itself has never yet been published.

. . . .
Lord of . . . .
. . . . his lord, the royal power of the gods . . .
the lance-bearers of his army, the lance-bearers of his army . . . . .
lord of the upper and lower regions,
lord of the archangels . . . . . .

they who drank the troubled waters, and could not drink pure waters,
of whom with his flame, his weapon, he encircled the crowd,
took them, destroyed them.
On a stela as yet was not written, nothing was open, the bodies and the productions
on the surface of the earth had not yet begun to spring up.(1)
Nothing was rising from the earth; and I did not draw nigh to it.
Warriors with bodies like birds of the desert, human beings with faces of ravens,
the great gods had created them
and on the earth the gods had created a dwelling for them.
Tiamat gave them their strength.
The lady of the gods had raised their life.
In the midst of the earth they had grown and had become great,
and their numbers had increased.
Seven kings brothers of the same family,
and six thousand in number was their people.
Banini their father was king, their mother was the Queen Melili;
the eldest brother among them, who marched before them, Memangab (2) was his name;
the second brother among them, Medudu was his name;
the third brother among them, . . . pakh was his name;
the fourth brother among them, . . . dada was his name;
the fifth brother among them, . . . takli was his name;
the sixth brother among them, . . . ruru was his name;
the seventh brother among them, . . . rara was his name.

Here follows a long gap, and with the second column of the tablet the text is continued with an account of a great war of the heroic ages, between a king of Kuti and some violent and impious enemies, who seem to be the descendants of those monstrous personages born in the chaotic empire of Tiamat, and slain by the flame of the sun on its first appearance. We do not quote

(1) I follow here the translation of Sayce; the text reads: *ina nara ul išṭar ul iptâ' va pagri u šebatti ina mati ul yušeṣi.*

(2) This name is Accadian, like those of all these personages; it signifies "the thunderbolt."

this new portion of the document, which does not directly concern our subject. The reader will find a translation of it by Sayce in *Records of the Past*, vol. XI., p. 111 et seq.

I.—Establishment of Order in the Movements of the Sidereal World and the War of the Seven Evil Spirits against the god Moon.

This account forms the beginning of a great magic incantation for the cure of the king, whose suffering is compared with that of the god Shin, who was regarded as a type of royalty. The text is published in *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 5. Translations have been made by G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 398 et seq.; *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 107 et seq. [Rev. Ed., p. 99 et seq. Tr.]; Fox Talbot, *Records of the Past*, vol. V., p. 163 et seq.; Fr. Lenormant, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1878, p. 23 et seq. Observations on several points of this document by Friedr. Delitzsch, *G. Smith's Chaldæische Genesis*, p. 308. In my *Études Accadiennes*, vol. III., pp. 121–134, may be found the transcription of the primitive Accadian text and of the Assyrian version, accompanied by a literal interlinear version. We refer the reader to that instead of increasing the bulk of this volume by the reproduction of this philological matter.

The days which recur in cycles (1) these are the wicked gods,
the rebellious genii who were formed in the lower part of heaven.
They, they are those who do evil
plot in their wicked heads . . . the setting of the sun,
flowing with the rivers . . . . .
Between them seven, the first is . . . .
the second an ogre, from whose mouth no one escapes,
the third a panther which strikes . . . .
the fourth a serpent . . . . .

(1) The comparison of inauspicious days to personal demons occurs several times: *Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. IV., pl. 1, col. 1, l. 18 and 19; col. 2, l. 65 and 66; col. 3, l. 1–4; pl. 27, No. 5, l. 22 and 23. Friedrich Delitzsch thinks that the reference here is to the seven unlucky days, from the 25th February to the 3d March, even yet dreaded by the inhabitants of Syria under the name of *mustaqridât* (see Wetztein, in Franz Delitzsch, *Commentar zu Koheleth*, p. 445 et seq). The allusion seems to me rather to refer to the cycle of the periodic return of the lunar eclipses after 223 synodic lunar months, a cycle the discovery of which all antiquity unanimously attributes to the Chaldæans (see above, p. 285).

the fifth a watch-dog (?) which against . . .
the sixth a tempest blowing fiercely which . . . .
against god or king,
the seventh the messenger of the evil wind which . . .
They are seven, messengers of Anu, their king,
from city to city each day they direct their steps.
They are the hurricane which fiercely drives all before it in the sky,
the floating cloud which darkens the sky in the day-time,
the tempest of wind which blows violently and causes darkness on a bright day.
With the evil winds, in evil winds they circulate;
inundation of Ramman, they develop their exploits;
at the right hand of Ramman they advance;
from the foundations of heaven they dart like lightning;
flowing with the rivers they march onward.
In the vast heavens, abode of Anu, their king, they have set themselves to work evil
and have no rivals.
At this time Bel heard of this matter,
and he meditated a resolve in his heart.
With Êa, the supreme sage among the gods,
he took counsel and
he appointed Shin (the moon), Shamash (the sun), and Ishtar (the planet Venus) in the lower part of heaven to control it;
he delegated to them the government of the legions of the heavens (to share it) with Anu.
These three gods, his children,
to remain fixed day and night without being divided
he advised them.
At this time the seven evil gods were moving about in the lower part of heaven;
before the face of Shin the illuminator fiercely they interposed themselves.
The noble Ramman and Shamash the warrior passed to their side:
Ishtar with Anu the king rose toward the shining seats
and in the kingship of heaven displayed his power.

. . . .

At this time these seven . . . .

at the head of the government, in presence . . . .
the evil . . . .
in the action of drinking of his shining mouth . . .
Shin the shepherd . . . of mankind . . . of the governors of the face of the earth.
. . . . was overthrown and stopped at the height (of his course) being hindered day and night and no longer seated on the seat of his dominion.
The evil gods, messengers of Anu, their king,
devised with wicked heads, they assisted one another;
from the midst of heaven like the wind to the face of the earth they hurled themselves.
Bel the restraint of the noble Shin
saw in heaven, and,
master, to his attendant Nuzku he addressed his speech:
"My attendant Nuzku, carry my speech to the Ocean;
the news of my son Shin who in heaven is painfully hindered,
to Êa in the Ocean repeat it."
Nuzku obeyed the order of his master,
to Êa rapidly he went.
To the chief, to the supreme ruler, to the unfailing master,
Nuzku repeated . . . the order of his master.
Êa heard this message in the Ocean;
he bit his lip, and his face was filled with tears.
Êa called his son Marduk and communicated to him the news:
"Come, my son Marduk;
learn, my son, that Shin in the heavens is sorrowfully hindered;
behold his anguish in heaven.
These seven wicked and murderous gods, having no fear,
these seven wicked gods, like whirlwinds devastate life on the face of the earth;
upon the face of the earth they have hurled themselves like a waterspout;
before the face of the light-giving Shin fiercely they came;
the noble Shamash and Ramman the warrior have passed to their side."

. . . .

A great fracture in the original tablet stops short the narrative at this point. There is no trace left us of the verses which re-

counted the defeat of the seven malevolent spirits and the deliverance of Shin; but this denouement may be easily divined by the preceding portion. Moreover, the sudden change of the conclusion is always identical in those of the old magical incantations of Akkad which bring the gods upon the scene. Êa, the god of all knowledge and of all wisdom, is at the same time the Averruncus *par excellence;* he is the last resort for aid against the demons, who, always in groups of seven, bring trouble into the economy of the world and produce evil therein. He calls his son Marduk, the *Silig-mulu-khi* (he who brings good to men) of the Akkadians, the great mediator, he who executes the will of the gods, and their champion. This Marduk it is, the personification of the rising sun, who dissipates darkness and mists; he it was who conquered Tiamat, goddess of the abyss and of the dark, in the grand struggle at the beginning of all things, and caused the ordered universe to issue from her dismembered body. That struggle with the dark and infernal powers of chaos, over which he once gained the victory, is continually renewed every time that it is necessary to maintain order in the universe. At the command of his father Êa he starts forth and repulses the demons.

The combat of the seven evil spirits, sons of Anu, against the lunar god, the poetic account of which has just been given, is repeated at the close of periodic cycles, as the poet has been careful to relate at the beginning,—every time that the orb is eclipsed. Thus we read in an astrological document (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, vol. III., pl. 61, col. 2, l. 13–16) that upon the event of certain celestial phenomena, "the gods of heaven and earth will reduce men to dust and cause their ruin; there will occur eclipse, inundation, sicknesses, mortality; the seven great evil spirits will carry their barrier in front of the moon."(1)

K.—Generations of the Chief gods of the Chaldæo-Assyrian Religion.

In all polytheisms the theogony is the first form of the expression of the cosmogony. Before this latter can reach a philosophical expression, the gradual development of the universe, tending always towards a more perfect organization, is reflected and sym-

(1) *ilâni ša šame u irçiti iprit ameluti tubulšunu išivva antalû riḫçu murçu mutuv. galli rabuti sibitti maḫar šini ittanapriku.*

bolized in the succession of the generations of the gods who personify the forces and phenomena of nature. And this manner of explaining the cosmogony, preserved in the sanctuaries, becomes more and more refined, and multiplies the generations of primordial gods, who now represent abstract principles, and no longer visible phenomena or parts of the universe, in proportion as religious thought, developing in the philosophic sense, penetrates deeper and deeper with its speculations into primitive causes, their sequence and their evolution.

Hence it has seemed to me that it would be useful to add to this collection of cosmogonic fragments tables of the relationship of the principal gods of the Chaldæo-Assyrian religion, as they are preserved to us in the indications scattered throughout the cuneiform inscriptions.

This religion is one in its totality over all the vast territory which it covered. It possesses, what was always lacking to Hellenic polytheism, a scientific systematization, strong and fixed in its essential lines, and dating back to about the year 2000 B. C., subsequent to which it appears unchanged. But this systematization does not prevent certain local variations as regards the relationship attributed to some gods, which probably date back to the age of the independent establishment of the cults of different cities, before the epoch when the great work of the systematic regulation of the hierarchy of the pantheon went into operation.

Even outside of these details, peculiar to the religion of single towns, it may be affirmed that, as regards the first beginnings, the theogony, while remaining identical at bottom, presents divergencies between Babylon and Assyria strong enough to admit of a division into two systems, such as we shall indicate in the following tables:(1)

(1) In these tables we designate by the name of Sandan the Assyrian Hercules, whom we have called Adar in the text of the volume. It is indeed well established that this last reading is erroneous and should be abandoned. The Adrammelek of the Bible is not this god, but a form of Shamash, called *Adru*. The reading Ninib, which was proposed before that of Adar, and which Friedr. Delitzsch and Stan. Guyard recently revived, cannot be proved any more satisfactorily than the other. The part of wisdom for the present seems to be to designate the Chaldæo-Assyrian Hercules by the form which the Greeks give his name until a phonetic expression may be found, which so far has not been met with.

Hence results a serious *erratum* in the body of the work. We beg of the

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I. — Babylonian System.

Tiamat (Ishi or Bagas)

Anu (Ana) — Anatu (Dingiri or Nana) | *Bel (Elim or Mul[illegible]) — Belita (Nin[illegible])*

Ishu (Gibil). *Ishtar (Sukush).* *Rammanu (Mermer).* *Sinu (Aku) — Belit rabitu (Nin[illegible])* *Sandan (Nin[illegible]) — Kabta (Gula)* *Nergal — (Nin[illegible])*

Shamshu (Utu)

We find undoubted traces of a primitive epoch when the Urano-Chthonian pair of *Ana* and *Dingiri* or *Nana* constituted the primordial pair, *Dingiri* or *Nana* being confused with *Ishi* or *Bagas*, humid matter, the origin of all things. She then brought forth *Ana*, who afterwards became her spouse, and of this union sprang *Elim* and *Ea*, as well as *Gibil* and *Mermer*. In order to recover the primitive form of this theogonic record it is necessary to go back to the purely Accadian period, long before the great work of sacerdotal systematization which gave place to the final establishment of the filiation summarized in the table.

Shar and *Kishar*, in Assyrian Sumer, Ashshur and Sherua were [illegible] in natural sequence he came to be regarded as the father of all [illegible]

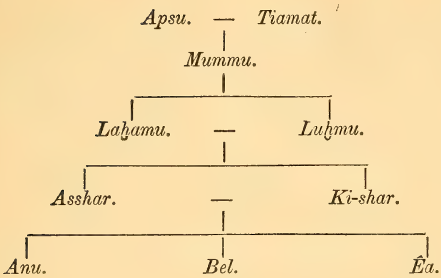
II. — Assyrian System.

Apsu — Tiamat.

Ashur — Sherua

Anu — Anatu | *Bel — Belita* | *Ea [illegible]*

Rammanu (consort *Shala*). *Sinu* — *Belit rabitu* *Sandan* *Kabtu* (*Gula*) *Nergallu* *Laz* *Marduk [illegible]*



We will not reproduce here the remainder of the genealogy, which must remain the same.

The fundamental plan of these cosmogonic constructions may be summarized in the following manner: A first principle, material and still unorganized, existing before everything else, and never having had a beginning; at times this first principle is represented as simple and including within itself the two sexes, the idea of maternity predominating; again it is represented as a duality of male and female, in which the feminine has produced the masculine, which afterwards reacts upon it; and finally, in other cases, in the existence of this first principle, duplicating its own essence, may be distinguished a series of evolutions represented by a succession of pairs, like each other, and always solitary, emanating one from the other. From them, when the universe assumes its ordered form, issue three parallel triads of cosmic divinities, each one composed of father, mother and son, in imitation of mortal families:

1st. *Anu* and *Anatu*, with sometimes *Ishu*, sometimes *Rammanu*, for their son; the first name predominates during the most ancient

reader to correct to Sandan wherever Adar may be found printed. This, however, is merely a correction as to name, and involves no fundamental change in the different passages which refer to this god. His nature and the part attributed to him are well defined, even though the exact appellation which belongs to the unvarying expression of his name, under an ideographic form, still remains doubtful. [This change has not been made in the present translation, owing to the strength of the argument in favor of Adar. See Schrader, in *Berichte uber die Verhandlungen der Konigl. Sachsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philol.-Hist. Classe*, 1880, p. 19 et seq. Tr.]

epochs, but later *Ishu* loses his importance, and the normal type of the third triad makes it consist of *Anu*, *Anatu* and *Rammanu*.

2d. *Belu* and *Beltu*, with *Shinu* for son. As an exception, in the local cult of Nipur, this triad appears consisting of *Belu*, *Beltu* and *Sandan*, who becomes the lover of his mother.

3d. *Êa* and *Davkina*, with *Marduku* for their son.

These first three cosmic triads correspond with the three divisions of the world, the sky, the earth and the ocean encircling the earth. They serve as types of the triads of the local religions, constituted upon the same plan, but composed often of gods which hold an inferior rank in the general system; that of Babylon, for instance, being made up of *Marduku* and *Zirbanitu*, with *Nabû* for son; that of Simpar, or Sippara, of *Adru* or *Shamshu*, and *Anunitu*, with *Dumuzi* for their son. Sometimes, too, a daughter is substituted for the son, as at Uruk, where the triad is composed of *Anu*, *Anatu* or *Nana*, and *Ishtar*.

This order is reflected in the official hierarchy of the ranks of the gods as set over different sections of the government of the universe. Here we have in the first place a god, one and supreme, in Assyria *Asshur*, and in Babylon *Ilu*, "the god," regarded in his most comprehensive sense. It is well to note that the conception of *Ilu*, having this character and a personal existence very distinctly marked, stands out separately only at a late epoch in Babylon, long subsequent to the time when the Assyrians had thus conceived their *Asshur*. Prior to this, the conception of a supreme god is but vaguely developed in the Babylonian mind, and the position as chief of the divine hierarchy is attributed to *Anu*. Below this *deus exsuperantissimus* are ranged three groups, each composed of three divinities:

1st. The cosmic triplicity of *Anu*, *Belu* and *Êa*;

2d. The feminine triplicity of the goddesses, corresponding to them as consorts, *Anatu*, *Beltu* and *Davkina*, a triplicity which, however, often resolves itself into the unity of the polyonymous and multiform *Beltu*;

3d. A triplicity more localized than the first in the material bodies of nature, *Shinu*, *Shamshu* and *Rammanu*.

Below this last group, again, may be classed the divinities of the five planets, standing thus in the order of hierarchic importance: *Marduku*, *Ishtar*, *Sandan*, *Nergallu* and *Nabû*. Then, below these, again, are ranged the numerous legions of the *dii minores*,

as in the theogony all their generations issue from the first three cosmic triads.

The echo of these theogonic and hierarchic constructions may yet be found in certain indications of the classic literature of later times, which are naturally quoted in this connection.

L.—Fragments relating to the Three Primordial Triads of the Chaldæans.

1. We will now examine the hypotheses of the ancient theologians, the ideas presented by the philosophic conceptions which they express. The first of these is that of the Chaldæans, universally acknowledged to be the most mystical of all. It is also that one of all these conceptions which corresponds the best and without any effort to our opinions, which aim at bringing about the same unity of the Intelligent. In fact, these theurgists, instructed by the gods themselves, have transmitted to us the tradition of the three triads; and the Egyptians and Phœnicians, on their side, believe numerous generations of gods to be developed in the Intelligent. — (Damasc., *De prim. princip.*, 111, p. 344, ed. Kopp.)

Our fragment *A* proves that Damascius had a very clear and exact acquaintance with Chaldæan theology, drawn from ancient and authorized sources. His testimony, therefore, has always an undoubted value. Only he looks at this ancient theology, of which he speaks so pertinently, through the prismatic medium of Neo-Platonic conceptions, which he applies to it, and the Ennead of which, for example, he discovers here.

The varied testimony which will follow does not, like this, refer directly to the pure and authentic theology of the Chaldæo-Assyrians, but rather to the doctrines of the so called *Chaldæan* Theurgy, which in the Middle Ages was extant as a secret and magic sect, and gave birth to an extensive apocryphal literature, with which Michael Psellos, in the eleventh century, showed himself specially familiar. The adepts in *Chaldæism* at that epoch did not any longer know anything of the religion of the ancient Chaldæans; they would have been thoroughly surprised and embarrassed had they been confronted with the true names of the personages of its Pantheon. But, in spite of radical changes, of a mixture of elements borrowed from Neo-Platonism, and gathered in from all sources, the tradition transmitted from generation to generation caused certain essential ideas to appear

in it, which undoubtedly had their origin in the sanctuaries of Babylon and Chaldæa.

2. The Ennead is the divine number, for it is composed of three triads; and thus, as Porphyry puts it, it preserves the expression of the highest form of the theological conception, according to the philosophy of the Chaldæans.—(Johann. Laurent. Lyd, *De Mens*, IV., 78.)

3. After the One and the Good, they (the Chaldæans) honored a paternal and generative source, composed of three triads. And each triad comprises father, power and spirit.—(Anonym., *Compend. de doctrina Chaldaica*, in Stanley, *Hist. philosoph.*, vol. II., p. 1125.)

We know that Neo-Platonism thus defined in the triads of ancient polytheisms the parts of father, mother and son.

4. The Chaldæans say that the First Cause is one, and they describe it as absolutely ineffable. After it they imagine a paternal and generative source, composed of three triads, after which they introduce attributes with passions (*ἴυγγας*), then that which is at once beyond (*ὁ ἅπαξ ἐπέκεινα*), and the power of capacity (*ἑκτικὴ δύναμις*). . . . . After these powers, they say there are ten leaders of the world (*κοσμαγοί*), then the initiators and those who contain in themselves the things (*τελετάρχαι καὶ συνοχεῖς*).—(Michael Psellos, quoted by Sathas in the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, vol. I., p. 207.)

It may be seen that in this last fragment, outside the mention of the three fundamental triads, we come upon a series of complications, borrowed for the larger part from Neo-Platonism, with nothing either ancient or Chaldæan about them. Therefore I will beg to be excused from reproducing the other passages from Psellos on the system of imaginary Chaldæan philosophy of the Middle Ages, and will content myself with referring the reader to his *Ἔκθεσις κεφαλαιώδης καὶ σύντομος τῶν παρὰ Χαλδαίοις δογμάτων*, in Migne's *Patrologia Græca*, vol. CXXII., pp. 1150–1154; and to Sathas' *Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. IV., p. 459; vol. V., pp. 57, 401, 449 and 510.

M.—Fragments relating to the Cosmic Characters of the Masculine and Feminine Principles.

I conclude this first group of extracts, which are far from possessing equal value, but all of which, in my opinion, deserve to be studied and compared, with a discrimination between what is

original, that which is adopted at first hand, and that which comes from a remote tradition, already materially changed by a long series of transmissions,—I conclude, I repeat, this group of extracts with three taken from the *Philosophumena*, belonging to the last category. And although there is not the slightest evidence of their being in any way directly taken by the author from the original Chaldæan sources, though the ancient religious doctrines, formerly embodied in a mythologic and theogonic form, are here transformed into philosophical abstractions, which bear upon the face of them a modern impress, the Count de Vogüé (*Mélanges d'Archéologie Orientale*, p. 57 et seq.) has firmly established the real value of these fragments and the great proportion of genuinely antique conceptions which they contain.

The first is presented as the summary of the teachings which, according to the legend, were given to Pythagoras by the Chaldæan Zaratas. (1)

1. In the first principle there are two causes for all beings, the father and the mother. The father is light and the mother darkness, and the parts of light are heat, dryness, volatility and quickness; those of darkness, cold, humidity, heaviness and slowness. From all this the world is made up, from the combination of the two principles, masculine and feminine. And the world is a musical harmony, for the sun in its revolution follows a harmonious march. As to the production of things on the earth and in the universe, this is what Zaratas said. There are two divinities, one celestial, the other chthonian. To the chthonian divinity belongs the production of all that is born of the earth, and she herself is water. As to the celestial god, he is fire, sharing the nature of the air, which is at once cold and warm. . . . This is then the essence of all things.—(*Philosophumena*, I., 2; p. 8, ed. Miller.)

2. Pythagoras disclosed the fact that the monad was the unbegotten principle of all things, while the dyad and all the other numbers are begotten. He says that the monad is the father of the dyad, which, in turn, is the mother of innumerable generations. And Zaratas, the Chaldæan, master of Pythagoras, called the one father and the other mother. For, according to Pytha-

(1) The name of Zaratas appears to have been borrowed from that of Zarathustra, although the doctrine described under this name bears no resemblance to Zoroastrianism.

goras, the dyad is born of the monad; the monad is masculine and the first principle, and the dyad feminine.—(*Philosophumena*, VI., 23; p. 178, ed. Miller.)

3. Taking the monad as a point of departure, Providence caused the division of the elements as far as four, air and fire, water and earth. And having made the world of them, it constituted it an androgyn; it placed two elements in the upper hemisphere, air and fire, and this it is which is called the hemisphere of the monad, beneficent, tending upward, and masculine. For the monad being composed of essentially volatile parts, always soars toward the lightest and purest part of the ether. As to the two heavier elements, earth and water, they have been attributed to the dyad, and the hemisphere composed of them is called the hemisphere tending downward, feminine and maleficent. Now, on examining the reciprocal relations of the two superior elements, it may be seen that they have in themselves the male and female elements, for the fructification and growth of all things. For the fire is male in relation to the air, which is female; and, on the other hand, the water is male in its relation to the earth, which is female. And thus it is that from the beginning there has been copulation of the fire and of the air, of the earth and of the water. For the fire is the active power in its relation to the air, and the water in its relation to the earth. . . . . . Light is connected with the monad, and darkness with the dyad; material life with light and the monad; death with darkness and the dyad; justice with life, and injustice with death.—(*Philosophumena*, IV., 43; p. 78, ed. Miller.)

II.

PHŒNICIA.

A.—Theogony of Sidon according to Eudemius.

The Sidonians, as the same writer tells us, imagine that before all else was Time, after that Desire and Darkness. From the union of these, as the first two principles, were born Aêr (the air) and Aura (the breath, represented as female), Aêr representing the intelligent in its purity, and Aura the first animated type proceeding from it in motion. Afterward there issues from this pair the cosmic egg, conformably to the intelligent spirit.—(Damasc., *De prim. princip.*, 125, p. 384, ed Kopp.)

B.—Phœnician Cosmogony of the Books of Môchos.

Outside the writings of Eudemius, we find the following in the Phœnician cosmogony of Môchos. At first there existed Ether and Air,(1) the two principles of whom was begotten Ulômos ('Ulôm),(2) the intelligent god, meaning, as I suppose, the highest degree of intelligence. Of the copulation of this god with himself is begotten, first, Chusôros, the Opener (*Hûshôr-Pta'h*),(3) next, the Egg. It appears to me that by the last named is meant the intelligent spirit, and by Chusôros, the Opener, the intelligent power, which first separated nature disorganized in chaos; unless, after the first two principles, the highest degree of the intelligent may be the Wind (*Rûah̯*), and the medium degree the winds Lips and Notos (the South-west and the South), for they are said to be created before Ulômos. In this case, it is Ulômos who would be the intelligent spirit, Chusôros, the Opener, the primordial order proceeding from the intelligent, and the Egg the sky. For it was said that when broken in half each of its parts formed sky and earth.—(Damasc., *De prim. princip.*, 125, p. 385, ed Kopp.)

(1) Represented as male and female, and corresponding to Aêr and Aura of the cosmogony of Eudemius.

(2) Time, answering to the Chronos of Eudemius.

(3) Personifying the attraction of cohesion in the organic world, and at the same time the demiurge opening the cosmic egg.

C.—On the Part attributed to Time in the Phœnician Cosmogony.

The multiple one (*τὸ ἓν πολλά*) is thus named as containing in its close multiplicity the universal cause of all that proceeds from it by whatever way of division: wherefore the sons of the Chaldæans celebrate it as the source of sources, Orpheus as "Mêtis bearing within herself the seed of the gods;" lastly, the Phœnicians as cosmic Time (*'Ulôm*), embracing all things in itself.—(Damasc., *De prim. princip.*, 89, p. 268, ed. Kopp.)

D.—Cosmogony of Hieronymus and of Hellanicos.(1)

The theology circulating under the names of Hieronymus and Hellanicos, if indeed these be not one and the same personage, is thus conceived. In the beginning was the water and the damp mud, which, hardening, became the earth. Thus we have, as primitive basis of things, water and earth, water as representing the principle of division, of repulsion, earth that of attraction and of cohesion; and the first principle from which these two proceed is left nameless. And these authors say in excuse for their silence that its nature is ineffable. A third principle springs from the union of the two which they name, water (male) and earth (female); it has the form of a dragon with the heads of a bull and a lion joined, and between them the face of a god (anthropomorphic), with wings on his shoulders, and they call him Time (*'Ulôm*), who never grows old,(2) or Heracles (*Melqarth*); to him is united Necessity, who is Nature, the same as the incorporeal Adrastea ('Ashtharth), who stretches her measuring rod everywhere about the universe, defining its limits. This pair is, I believe, the third principle existing in its essence, and has been conceived as divided into male and female, in order to represent it as generating cause of all things. And it is at this point that I return to the theology of the [Orphic] rhapsodies, which ignores the first two principles with the single

(1) Hieronymus, the Egyptian, and Hellanicos are mentioned together by Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.*, I., 3, 9) as having written some Φοινικικά. (For Hellanicos, see also Cedren., *Histor. Compend.*, vol. I., p. 11, ed. of Paris.) It is to such a book that one naturally refers this cosmogony, whose oriental, probably Tyrian, origin is evident, though it appears to us under a form permeated by the Orphic spirit, as Damascius has clearly seen, cataloguing it side by side with the cosmogony attributed to Orpheus.

(2) Χρόνος ἀγήρατος, perhaps, should be corrected Χρόνος ἀπήραντος, "unlimited Time."

one which precedes the two others, and which we have just seen pass them by in silence, taking for its starting-point the third principle, issue of the other two, considering it as the first defined and proportioned to man's understanding.(1) For this Time, which never grows old, which is so greatly honored, is here made the father of Ether (masculine) and Chaos (feminine, *Bahû*). And the dragon Time brings forth a triple generation, the intelligent Ether, the infinite Chaos, and, thirdly, the darksome Erebus. This is the second triad, analogous to the first, but presented as expressing power in the same way as that does the generating principle. For its third person is the darksome Erebus; its first, the father, is the Ether, not simple, but intelligent; lastly, its intermediary person is the infinite Chaos. And they add that in these Time engendered an egg, making of these a product of Time, begotten in these three, for the third triad, that of the intelligent principles, proceeds therefrom. What, then, is this last? The egg contains within itself the dyad of masculine and feminine natures, and virtually the multitude of all germs; and as to the third personage joined to this duality of the egg, it is incorporeal, having golden wings on its shoulders, with bulls' heads issuing from its sides, and upon its head a monstrous dragon, which assumes in succession the appearances of all kinds of animals. This third personage should be regarded as the spirit of the triad, the egg as its paternal principle, and the dyad of natures contained by it, with the germs of all generation, as its power. And the third god of the third triad is he whom the [Orphic] theology celebrates as the Divine First-born, the Zeus-Director of all things and of the universe, in such wise that it calls him also Pan.—(Damasc., *De prim. princip.*, 123, p. 381 et seq., ed. Kopp.)

(1) In order to comprehend this it will be necessary to refer to a curious passage of Proclus (in Plat., *Tim.*, II., 130, p. 307, ed. Schneider): "The theology of Orpheus speaks in the same way of Phanes; according to it the first living god was polycephalus, having the heads of a ram, a bull and a monstrous lion; he issued from the primordial egg which enclosed the animal called by Plato—and with reason—the great god who exists of himself (αὐτοζῶον)." Damascius here compares this Phanes with the Chronos-Heracles ('*Ulôm-Melqarth*) of Hieronymus' and Hellanicos' Phœnician cosmogony; and from this time on the narratives taken from the two sources are so thoroughly interwoven in his text that it becomes impossible to distinguish between them with any degree of certainty.

E.—First Phœnician Cosmogony of the Sanchoniathon of Philo of Byblos.

He supposes the first principle to be a disturbed and windy air, or a breath (*rûaḥ*) of agitated wind; and a disordered chaos, black as Erebus (*chahôth'ereb*), and these were from everlasting and endured for innumerable centuries.

But when afterwards, he says, the Breath (*Rûaḥ*) fell in love with his own principles, he made a blending of himself, and this copulation was called Desire (*Ḥîpeç*). This was the principle of the creation of all things, and he knew not his own creation; and of this copulation of the Breath was born Môt (*Mûth*), which some define to be the mud or putrefaction of an aqueous mixture, and from this mud there issued forth all the seed (*zera'*) of creation, and the generation of all things.

And there were(1) living beings (*ḥêûth*) without sensations, of whom were born the intelligent beings, and they were called Zophêsamin (*Çophê-shamêm*), which means Contemplators of the heavens.

And Môt was made in the form of an egg,(2) and he lighted himself up, and the sun, the moon, the stars, and the great orbs (the planets) [shone]."

Such is their cosmogony, which results in pure atheism. Let us see now how they introduce into it the generation of living beings.

The atmosphere being illuminated by the burning of the earth and the sea, winds were produced, clouds and enormous sheets of water from the heavens pouring down upon the earth. For when all things were separated and parted from the place where they at first were by the effect of the burning heat of the sun, they came together again, rushing through the air, and thunder and lightning were produced by the shock; and the intelligent animals were awakened by the rumbling of the thunder, alarmed by the noise, and male and female(3) began to move upon the earth and in the sea.

Such is the mode of generation of living beings. The same writer goes on to say:

Behold that which is found in the cosmogony written by Taaut and in his books, according to the proofs and the conceptions dis-

(1) In the chaos of Môt.

(2) The text is also susceptible of the translation: "And the Zophêsamin were made in the form of an egg. And Môt lighted himself up."

(3) Henceforth separate, having been hitherto united.

cerned by his intelligence, which he discovered and made known to us.

Then, having named Notos, Boreas, and the other Winds,(1) he goes on thus:

These cosmic beings (the sun, the moon, the stars, and the winds) are they to whom the first [men] dedicated the productions of the earth, regarding them as gods, and worshiping them, because from them they drew their life, they and their descendants offering to these gods libations and sacrifices;(2) and the reasons which inspired this adoration were consistent with their weakness, and the timidity of their soul.

He says afterwards:

Of the Wind Colpias (*Qôl pîaḥ*, "the voice of the wind"), and of his wife, Baau (*Bahû*), interpreted as signifying the night, were born Æon (feminine, *Ḥavâth*) and Prôtogonos (*Âdâm Qadmûn*), mortals thus named; and it is Æon who found out how to nourish herself with the fruit of the tree. They who were born of them were called Genos and Genea (*Qên* and *Qênâth*), and lived in Phœnicia. Overcome by the burning heat, they lifted up their hands toward heaven to adore the sun, which they regarded as the only god and master of heaven, calling it Beelsamên (*Ba'alshamêm*), which, in Phœnician, signifies "lord of the heavens;" this is the Zeus of the Greeks.

Then he goes on to accuse the Greeks of error, in the following words:

It is not without reason that we have deemed it necessary to give these explanations, but in order to establish the true meaning of the names which the Greeks, in their ignorance, often accepted with a different signification, troubled by the ambiguity of the translation given them.

He continues:

Afterwards of the race of Æon and Prôtogonos(3) were born

(1) Compare the enumeration of all the winds at the time of the cosmogonic battle of Marduk against Tiamat in the Chaldæo-Babylonian epic fragment. I. *F.*

(2) This whole passage is incomprehensible in the corrupt text which has come down to us, for it seems to be stated there that the Winds worshiped the gods and made them their offerings. But we find it again quoted by itself in Eusebius (*Præpar. evangel.*, I., 9, p. 28), and this time correctly. It is from him that we have made our translation.

(3) Or, perhaps: "of Genos, son of Æon and Prôtogonos," if with Gaisford we correct ἀπὸ Γένους [τοῦ] Αἰῶνος.

mortal children, called Light (*Nûr*), Fire (*Ish*), and Flame (*Lahab*). These were they who found out how to produce fire by the friction of pieces of wood, and taught its use. They had sons who exceeded them in size and lofty stature; and their names were given to the mountains of which they were masters, which were called after them, Casion (*Qaçiûn*), Libanus (*Lebânûn*), Antilibanus (*Ḫermûn*), and Brathy (*Tabûr?*).

Of these were born Samêmrumos (*Shamê-mêrum*),(1) who is also called Hypsuranios, and Usôos (*Ushô* for *Bosh*).(2) They began to make profit by their mothers, offering them for money, for women then prostituted themselves shamelessly to the first comer.

He goes on to say:

Hypsuranios fixed his dwelling in Tyre, and found out how to make huts of reeds, rushes and papyrus; and he quarreled with his brother Usôos, who had discovered the art of making garments out of the skins of wild beasts, whom he seized and cast down. Torrents of rain coming on, with violent winds, the trees which grew at Tyre, rubbing against each other, took fire, and the whole forest was burned up. Then Usôos, taking a tree, and stripping it of its branches, made the first venture of launching upon the sea; he dedicated two stelas to the Fire and the Wind; he worshiped them, and watered them with the blood offered as a libation for the animals he had taken in the chase.

And when they were dead, they who survived them dedicated to them pillars which they erected, paid worship to these stelas, and instituted feasts which they celebrated in their vicinity each year.

And long afterwards there were born of the race of Hypsuranios Agreus (*Çêd*), and Halieus (*Çidôn*), who discovered how to hunt and to fish, and after them were named the hunters and the fishers.(3)—(Euseb., *Præpar. evangel.*, I., 10; Sanchoniathon, pp. 8–18, ed. Orelli.)

(1) I cannot at all subscribe to the ordinary restoration *Shamêmrûm*, which grammatically is impossible, as the plural of the word "heavens" should be here construed *shamê* instead of *shamêm*.

(2) This is the *Bes* of the Egyptian monuments, a god of Semitic origin, to whom apply in the most perfect manner all the features of Sanchoniathon's narrative. *Bosh-Bes* becomes Usôos, as *Bodoshthor* (for *'Abd'ashtharth*), and *Badam* Udostor, and Udam in certain Greek transcriptions. (See Schrœder, *Die phœnizische Sprache*, p. 114).

(3) The original Phœnician text appears to have contained the following phrase, ill understood by the Greek translator, but showing itself through his version: *umîhôm iqqârû Çidôn ve Çidônîm*, "and after them were named Sidon and the Sidonians."

F.—Second Phœnician Cosmogony of the Sanchoniathon of Philo of Byblos.

Of them(1) were born two brothers, authors of the discovery of fire and its uses.

One of them, Chusôr (*Ḥûshôr*), exercised the art of (magic) formulæ, of incantations, and of divination; this is Hephaistos, the inventor of the hook, the bait, the line, and the fishing boat, and the first man who ventured on navigation. After his death he was honored as a god. He is likewise called Zeus Meilichios (*Malâk*, the workman). And they say that it was his brother who thought of building brick walls.(2)

Subsequently two young persons were born of his race, called Technites (*Qên*) and the Autochthon, made of earth (*Âdâm min-hâ'adâmâth*). These are they who found out how to mix chopped straw with the clay of bricks, to dry them in the sun, and to construct roofs.

Of them were born others, one of whom was named Agros (*Sîd*) and Agrotes (*Sadê*), the hero of the fields, (whose image is specially honored in Phœnicia, with his arch borne upon a chariot, and the people of Byblos in particular call him the greatest of the gods.) (3)

These are they who discovered how to build courts to houses, besides enclosures and subterranean apartments; it is from them that agriculturists and huntsmen are descended. And they are called Aletes (*Ilîm*), and Titans (*Nepîlîm*).

(1) Here another cosmogony is evidently taken up, going back to the demiurge, and subsequently producing the first human generations. It has been most awkwardly patched on to the end of the other, in such fashion that the words ἐξ ὧν, with which it begins, and which indicate the filiation of the demiurge, Ḥûshôr, seem to refer to *Çêd* and *Çîdôn*, which is absurd and impossible. In the primitive text these two words evidently referred to the first principles from which the organizer of the world had proceeded, perhaps Qôl-pîaḥ and Bahû.

(2) There is in all probability some alteration in the text here, for it seems probable that Malâk may have been the name of the brother of Ḥûshôr, rather than an epithet applied to him, since in the present form of the narrative this brother has no name given him.

(3) The explanatory addition that Philo of Byblos inserts in this place, in the ancient Phœnician text, which he is translating from Sanchoniathon, is based upon a gross error of his, which Scaliger pointed out in his day. He confounded the hero Sadê, type of the agriculturist, with Shaddê (the Almighty), the Hebrew Shaddaï, the orthography of which was, in fact, the same in Phœnician. (See above, p. 160, n. 4.)

Of them were born Amynos and Magos,(¹) who taught people how to construct villages and build sheep-folds.

And of these were born Misôr (*Mîshôr*), and Sydyc (*Çüdüq*), meaning the active and the just; these are they who discovered the use of salt.

Of Misôr were born Taaut (*Taût*), who invented the first elements of writing, and whom the Egyptians call Thôôth, the Alexandrians Thôyth, and the Hellenes Hermes; of Sydyc came the Dioscuri, the Cabiri, the Corybantes or gods of Samothracia (*Kabîrîm*), who were the first to invent a complete ship.

And of these, others were born, who became the discoverers of medicinal herbs, and remedies against the bite of serpents and curative incantations.—(Euseb., *Præparat. evangel.*, I., 10; Sanchoniathon, pp. 18-24.)

G.—Great Theogony, under the form of an Epic Recital, of the Sanchoniathon of Philo of Byblos. (²)

At this time there existed a personage called Elioun (*'Eliûn*), signifying the Very High, and his consort called Bêruth (*Ba'alath Bêrûth?*), who dwelt at Byblos.

Of them was born Epigeios or Autochthôn (*Âdâm Qadmûn*), afterward called Uranos (*Shâma*), and it is after him that the element over our heads is called heaven, because of his incomparable beauty. To him was born also, of these same parents already named, a sister, who was called Gê (*Adâmâth*), and her beauty gave the name to that which we designate by the expression earth.

Their father, the Very High, having been slain in a fight with wild beasts, was deified, and his children instituted in his honor libations and sacrifices. Heaven, having succeeded to the authority of his father, took in marriage the Earth, his sister. And he had of her four sons, Ilos (*Îl*), who was also called Cronos, Betylos (*Bêth-ül*), Dagôn (*Dâgûn*), whose name signifies the god of wheat, and Atlas.(³)

(¹) The name of Amynos is doubtless to be compared with the Biblical 'Ammôn,' and connected with the idea of the gathering together of flocks. In this case, Magos would, perhaps, be the altered and shortened form of a name associated with the rustic hut *ma'ar*, out of which the Latins have made *magar* and *magal*.

(²) This theogonic narrative appears to have belonged to Byblos, which is the centre of all the occurrences described.

(³) The original Phœnician form is unknown and its restoration impossible. But, guided by the assonance and the part attributed in mythology to Atlas, a primitive name may be imagined, derived from the root *nâtal* with a prosthetic aleph.

Besides these the concubines of Heaven had a numerous posterity, which made Earth angry; in her jealousy she pursued Heaven with abuse to such an extent that they ended by being divorced, and Heaven, after being separated from her, returned with violence whenever the fancy took him, approaching her, and then withdrawing. And he also attempted to slay the children he had had of her. But the Earth always succeeded in defending herself, summoning her auxiliaries to her aid.

When Cronos (*Îl*) had attained to man's estate, he took as adviser and helper Hermes Trismegistus (*Ṭaûṭ*), and he was his scribe. And he declared war against the Heaven, his father, in order to avenge his mother.

Cronos then had two children, Persephone (*Ilâth, Êlâth*) and Athene (*'Anâth*). The first died a virgin. And by the advice of Athene and Hermes, Cronos fabricated a javelin and an iron lance. Then Hermes, having pronounced magic formulæ upon the companions of Cronos, excited in them an ardent desire to fight against Heaven in the cause of Earth. Thus Cronos, having given battle to Heaven, drove him from power and succeeded to his kingdom.

In the combat the favorite concubine of Heaven was taken prisoner, being with child, and Cronos gave her to Dagôn; living with whom, she brought into the world the child of Heaven, which she carried in her womb, and he was called Dêmarûs (*Thêmâr, Ba'al-Thâmâr.*)

Afterwards Cronos surrounded the place which he inhabited with a wall, and built the first city in Phœnicia, Byblos.

After that, his suspicions being roused against his brother, Atlas, he flung him into the bowels of the earth, where he buried him, by the advice of Hermes.

About the same time, the sons of the Dioscuri (*Kabîrîm*) having collected barks and vessels, went to sea. Being cast ashore near Mount Casion, they dedicated a temple there.

And the companions of Ilos-Cronos were called Eloeim (*Elohîm*), as we would say, Cronians; for they derived their name from Cronos.

But the son of Cronos was Sadidos (Shadîd); he struck him with his own sword, having reason to suspect him, and deprived him of life, thus becoming the executioner of his own son. Likewise he cut off his daughter's head, so that all the gods were stupefied at the counsels of Cronos.

After some time had passed, Heaven, in wandering about, met his

virgin daughter, Astarte (*'Ashthârth*), with her two sisters, Rhea (*Ammâ*) (1) and Dione (*Ba'alth*), and sent them to slay Cronos by craft. And Cronos took them all for concubines, though they were his sisters. Heaven, having heard of this, sent marching against Cronos, Destiny (*Gîddê*, Hebrew *Gad*) and Hara (*No'emâ*, *'Ashthar-No'emâ*), with other allies; but Cronos seduced these women, and kept them with him.

Heaven devised furthermore the Betyles (*bêth-ûl*), by animating stones.

And to Cronos were born of Astarte seven daughters, the Tanides(2) (*Tanith*) or Artemis, and of Rhea seven sons, the youngest of whom was deified from his birth; lastly, of Dione he had daughters, and two more sons of Astarte, Pothos (*Ḥîpêc*) and Eros (*Dûd*).

As to Dagon, having invented wheat and the plough, he was called Zeus Arotrios.

And Sydyc (*Çüdüq*), whose name signifies the just, having married one of the Tanides, had a son, Asclepios (*Eshmûn.*)

And in the land beyond the river (Euphrates)(3) were born to Cronos three sons, a second Cronos (*Îl*), his father's homonyn, Zeus Bêlos (*Ba'al*, or particularly *Habba'al*), and Apollo (*Reshep*).

About the same time were born Pontos (*Yâm*), Typhon (*Çephôn*), and Nereus (*Nâhâr*), brother of Pontos and son of Bêlos. And of Pontos was born Sidôn (*Shiddô*),(4) who, gifted with most marvelous voice, invented the art of song, and also Poseidôn (*Tân* or *Tannin*).(5)

(1) The Etymologicon Magnum (v. 'Αμμά) shows the assimilation of this Phœnician form with the Rhea of the Greeks, and an inscription invokes Âmmâ side by side with Ba'alth (Euting, *Punische Steine*, pl. xxii., No. 215.)

(2) The text reads ἑπτὰ Τιτανίδες, but the correction ἑπτὰ Τανίδες is evident. These seven Tanith recall the seven Hat'hor of Egyptian mythology.

(3) May not ἐν Περαίᾳ which occurs curiously in this place, be an error for ἀπὸ Ῥέας?

(4) I cannot possibly regard this Sidôn as a personification of the City of Çidôn, as is usual. Her name ought to express her character as a singer or siren, and therefore I do not hesitate to recognize in it the enigmatical *shiddâh* of *Ecclesiastes*, ii.. 8. The termination ὼν suggests to me the restoration, there, of an ending in *ô* instead of *â*, as in *Didô*, *Thurô*, *nesso* (*neço*, "flower"), etc.—(See Schrœder, *Die Phœnizische Sprache*, p. 173).

(5) The name of the god *Tân* occurs in the composition of that of the Cretan Itanos, *î-Tân*, "the island of Tân." The most ancient coins of this island (Mionnet, *Descr. de Méd. ant* [supplement], vol. IV., p. 324, No. 188) represent the god Tân as a personage with the tail of a fish, holding

And to Dêmarûs was born Melcarthos (*Melqârth*), called also Heracles.

Then, afterward:

Heaven made war against Pontos, and associated Dêmarûs with him as his ally, after having persuaded him to come over to his side.(1) Dêmarûs fell upon Pontos, but he fled; and Dêmarûs vowed a sacrifice if he succeeded in escaping.

The thirty-second year after he had possessed himself of the power, Cronos having taken his father, Heaven, in an ambush which he had prepared for him in the midst of the lands, and holding him henceforth in his power, cut away his sexual parts, in a place near springs and rivers, where henceforth the worship of heaven was established; his spirit then melted away, and in his mutilation his blood fell in drops into the water of the springs and rivers; and the place where all this came to pass is yet pointed out.

Such are the choice records given us of Cronos and his cotemporaries, about whom the Hellenes make so much ado, calling this "the age of gold, the first age of men, endowed with speech," and boasting of the felicity of these ancient mortals as though theirs had been supreme beatitude. The writer goes on in the following strain:

Astarte, the great (*'Ashthârth Kabîrath*), and Zeus Dêmarûs (*Ba'al-Thêmâr*), and Adôdos (*Hadôd*), king of the gods, reigned together over the country, by the decision of Cronos. And Astarte placed on her own head, as the insignia of royalty, (the horns of) a bull's head. Wandering through the inhabited earth, she found a star fallen from heaven, lifted it up and consecrated it in the sacred island of Tyre. And the Phœnicians say that this Astarte is Aphrodite.

Cronos, in his turn, wandering through the inhabited earth, gave to his daughter, Athene, the kingdom of Attica.

But a pestilence and a famine having come to pass, Cronos sacrificed his only son (2) to his father, Heaven, circumcised himself, and obliged his companions to perform the same operation.

And shortly after, another son, whom he had of Rhea, named

Neptune's trident: on the reverse is represented the sea-monster *tannin* (*Genes.*, i. 21; *Job*, vii. 12; *Is.* xxvii. 1), and its female. This is the "sea-ram" of Ælian (*Hist. Anim.*, ix. 49; xv. 2), which Maury (*Rev. Archéol.*, 1st series, vol. V., p. 552 et seq.) has already pointed out as the animal of the Phœnician Poseidon.

(1) I adopt in this place Bernays' correction, Καὶ ἀποστήσας Δημαροῦντα προστίθεται.

(2) His only legitimate son.

Muth (*Mûth*, death, Hebrew *mâveth*), being dead, he deified him; his name in Phœnician signifies "death," and he is the same as Pluto.

After that, Cronos gave Byblos to the goddess Baaltis (*Ba'alth*), who is also called Dione, Berytus to Poseidôn, and Sidon to the Cabiri, who deified the remains of Pontos at Berytus.

And before this, Taautos, after having invented the images of the gods according to their figures, that of Cronos, of Dagôn, and the others, combined the sacred elements of writing. He contrived for Cronos the insignia of his royalty, four eyes before and behind, two of them being closed and at rest [when the other two are open], and on his shoulders four wings, two raised and two lowered. This was intended to explain symbolically that Cronos could see when sleeping, and slept awake; in the same way, the position of his four wings showed that he flew while resting, and rested while flying. And to the other gods Taautos gave each one two wings on the shoulders, as following Cronos on his flight, besides bestowing upon this last two more wings on his head, one to express his spirit of command, the other his sensitive power.

Cronos, coming to the land of the South, gave all Egypt to the god Taautos to be his kingdom.

All that, he says, was put for the first time in writing by the seven sons of Sydyc, the Cabiri, with their eighth brother, Asclepios, in the order in which it had been given them by Taautos. And Thabion (*Tâbiûn*), supposed to have been the first hierophant who lived in Phœnicia in remote antiquity, put these things into allegories, combining them with the physical and cosmical elements, and transmitted them to the chiefs of the sacred ceremonies and to the prophets who directed the initiations. And these having before all else a desire to increase their glory communicated them to their successors and disciples, one of whom was Eisiris (*Îsir*=*Ôsir*), the inventor of the three letters,(1) brother of Chnâ (*Kena'an*), surnamed Phœnix.

And he adds, by way of epilogue :(2)

And the Greeks, who surpassed all men in ingenuity, appropriated to themselves the greater part of these things, exaggerating them, and adding to them various ornaments, which they wove into this foundation in every style in order to charm by the elegance of

(1) The grammatical triliterality of the Semitic languages.

(2) It is evident that these last remarks belong properly to Philo of Byblos, and not to the Phœnician Sanchoniathon.

the myths. Hence Hesiod and the famed cyclic poets drew their theogonies, their gigantomachies, their mutilations of the gods, and in hawking them about everywhere they have supplanted the true narrative. And our ears, accustomed to their fictions, familiar to us for several centuries past, guard as a precious deposit the fables which they received by tradition, as I remarked when I began to speak; and, rooted by time, this belief has become so difficult to dislodge that to the greater number the truth appears like a story told for amusement, while the corruption of the tradition is looked upon as the truth itself.—(Euseb., *Præpar. evangel.*, I, 10; Sanchoniathon, pp. 24–40, ed. Orelli.)

H.—Extract from the Book of Philo of Byblos "On the Jews."

It was customary among the ancients, in seasons of great calamities and supreme dangers, for the head of the city or nation, in order that misfortune might be averted from the whole people, to immolate his best beloved son, as a ransom offered to divine vengeance. And they who were thus presented as victims were sacrificed with mysterious ceremonies.

Cronos, therefore, whom the Phœnicians called Êl (*Êl*, *Îl*), king of the country, who subsequently, after his death, was deified in the planet Saturn, had an only son, born of a nymph of the country, known as Anôbret.(1) This son is called Ieoud (*Yeḥûd*, Hebrew, *yâḥid*), for this is the name in Phœnician for an only son. His country being in great peril in the course of a war, Cronos invested his son with the royal ornaments, raised an altar and immolated him thereon.—(Euseb., *Præparat. evangel.*, I., 10; Sanchon., p. 42, ed. Orelli.)

I.—Another Version of this same Extract.

The Phœnicians, in great calamities, brought on by wars, droughts and pestilences, sacrificed some of their best-loved children, vowing them to Cronos (*Îl-Milich*, the *Moloch* of the 'Ammonites). The history of the Phœnicians, written by Sanchoniathon in Phœnician, and translated into Greek by Philo of Byblos in eight books, is full of similar sacrifices.—(Porphyr., *De Abstin. Carn.*, II., 56.)

(1) All the conjecture so far made in regard to the restoration of the original form of this name and its explanation seem to me inadmissible; though indeed I have no plausible substitute to make for them.

J.—Extract on Cronos.

The Phœnicians, guided by the similarity of the name, or by some allegory, told the story of Cronos in a different way, as may be gathered in the second book of Herennius Philo's *Phœnician History.* Their traditional history tells how he reigned over Libya(1) and Sicily, as I explained above;(2) that he settled inhabitants there and founded cities, like the one of which Charax speaks, and which was at first called Cronia, and now Hierapolis, as Isigonos narrates in his book, *On the Greek Gods*, and Polemon, and Eschylus in his tragedy of *Etna.*—(Fragment of the fourth book of the treatise *Of the Months*, by John Laurentios, the Lydian, published by Hase on p. 274 of the treatise *De Ostentis*, by the same author.)

K.—Another Extract on Cronos.

The Phœnicians say that this god (Cronos) shared in the rôle of a demiurge. Just as the demon which is favorable to us guards our life, not by descending into it, but by remaining exterior to it, in the same way Cronos is charged with the supremacy of the world, without having been its creator, but in the character of guardian and benefactor of the world, as he who leads to its completion the life of the universe and of the demiurge himself. It is thus that Cronos is honored with the title of demiurge, the power which makes the demiurgic work effective appearing in him.—(Extract from the second part [unedited] of Damascius' treatise, *On First Principles*, Creuzer, *Meletemata*, vol. I., p. 45; Ch.-Em. Ruelle: *Le Philosophe Damascius*, p. 105.)

L.—Extract upon the Dominion of Cronos.

The Phœnicians say that Zeus (*Ba'al* or *Habba'al*) was the most just of the kings, so that his glory exceeded that of Cronos. And they relate that he drove Cronos from the kingship, which signifies that he got the better of time and the oblivion which follows in its train.(3)—Johan. Laurent. Lyd., *De Mens*, IV., 48.)

M.—Extract from the Book of Philo of Byblos " On the Jews."

Taautos (*Taût*), whom the Egyptians call Thoyth, glorified for his wisdom among the Phœnicians, was the first to arrange the sci-

(1) Where he becomes *Ba'al 'Hammôn.*

(2) This passage is lost.

(3) Allegorical explanation which savors of the Greek of the decadence and has nothing in it of Oriental ideas.

ence of divine things and the worship of the gods in a scientific manner, instead of leaving it to the ignorance of the vulgar herd. After many generations, he was followed by the god Surmubêlos (*Shumru-Ba'al*, "the command of Ba'al") and the goddess Thûrô (*Thûrô*,=Hebrew *Thôrâh*, "the Law"), called also Chusarthis (*Ḥusharth*, "harmony"), who illumined the mysterious theology of Taautos, so surcharged with allegory.—(Euseb., *Præparat. evangel.*, I., 10; Sanchoniathion, p. 42, ed. Orelli.)

N.—Extract from the Book of Philo of Byblos "On Phœnician Letters."

The same (Philo of Byblos), translating the book of Sanchoniathon, *On Phœnician Letters*, makes the following remarks on reptiles and venomous animals, which are of no use to men, but communicate perdition and death to them by stinging them with their cruel and incurable venom. He writes of them as follows:

Taautos deified the nature of the dragon and of serpents, and subsequent to him the Phœnicians and Egyptians followed his example. For they considered this animal as being of all reptiles the most possessed with the spiritual breath(1) and the most fiery. And this spiritual breath it is which gives it a rapidity of motion impossible to surpass, though it has neither feet nor hands, nor any of the exterior members with the help of which the other animals move about. And the serpent assumes the most varied forms, advancing with spiral motions towards the goal he aims at. He is likewise the longest-lived of all creatures, not only because in casting off the outside coat of his age he grows young again, but because he attains to a growth beyond that of any other animal. And when he has accomplished the term decreed for him, he swallows himself, as Taautos has recorded in the sacred writings. Therefore it is that this animal occupies his place in the sacred ceremonies and in the mysteries. It is explained more at length in the books entitled, *On the Celestial Signs*,(2) that the serpent is immortal and absorbs himself, as was just said, for this animal does not die a natural death, but

(1) Cf. *Genes.*, iii., 1: "The serpent was subtle above all the beasts of the field which Yahveh Elohim had made."

(2) Περὶ ἐθωθίων. The ἐθώθια are manifestly the celestial signs, *êthûth*, Hebrew, *ôthôth*, as the ἀμμούνεα, whose mysterious writings Sanchoniathon is said to have consulted in order to write his cosmogony (Euseb. *Præparat. Evangel.*, I., 6; Sanchoniathon, p. 6, ed. Orelli), are the *ḥammânîm* or sacred stelas of the temples.

only when he is struck. The Phœnicians, also, call him Agathodemon.(1)—Euseb., *Præparat. evangel.*, I., 10; Sanchoniathon, p. 44, ed. Orelli.)

O.—Extracts on the Cosmogomic Character of the Number Seven.

The Chaldæans called this god (Dionysos) Iao, signifying intelligible light, and in the language of the Phœnicians he is frequently named Sabaôth, as he who is above the seven heavens, or the demiurge.(2)—Joh. Laurent. Lyd., *De Mens.*, IV., 38.)

Sabaôth the demiurge, for it is by this word that the demiurgic number is expressed in Phœnician.—(Joh. Laurent. Lyd., *De Mens.*, IV., 98.

It was the gods themselves who communicated the fact that the septenary as intelligent number existed after the ternary. Orpheus taught it as well as the Pythagoreans and the Phœnicians, the last in their mythology representing Cronos as supplied with seven heads.—(Damasc., *De prim. princip., fragm. ined. ap.* Ch.-Em. Ruelle, *Le philosophe Damascius*, p. 100.

(1) We may suppose that under this name is concealed the designations of *Malâk-Ba'al*, or "Angel of Ba'al," the third person, or the divine son of the Phœnician triads, to whom Philippe Berger has dedicated an important memoir: *L'Ange d' Astarté* in *La Facûlté de théologie prostestante de Paris à M. Edouard Reuss* (Paris, 1879, gr. in 4°), pp. 37–55. This *Malâk-Ba'al* is identified with Hermes (See Fr. Lenormant, *Gazette archæologique*, 1876, p. 127 et seq.), himself assimilated with Agathodemon. One of his images is the *neḥushtân*, the Saving Serpent, whose image was lifted up by Môsheh in the desert (*Num.* xxi , 6-9), and at a later date was broken by King Ḫizqiyâh as idolatrous (2 *Kings*, xviii , 4).

(2) The Byzantine writer, absolutely ignorant of Semitic philology, has in this place seriously confounded the title of *Yahveh elohê çebâôth*, "Yahveh, god of celestial armies," and the name of the number *shebâ*, "seven." But his testimony, sullied as it is with error, is precious to retain. It proves, in fact, that in his very numerous and varied readings of authors, now lost, John Laurentios, the Lydian, found the expression of the cosmic and demiurgic idea connected by the Phœnicians with the number seven.

III.

FRAGMENTS OF PHERECYDES' COSMOGONY.

The fragments of the cosmogony of the philosopher Pherecydes of Syros, which have been handed down to us, belong just here. We are told, in fact, quite distinctly that Pherecydes composed his book in conformity with the mysterious writing of the Phœnicians, *τὰ Φοινίκων ἀπόκρυφα βιβλία* (Suid., v. *Φερεκύδης*, Eudoc., *Violar. ap.* Villoison, *Anecd. græc.*, vol. I., p. 425). And it is easy to perceive the exactness of this statement, and that his cosmogony is not Hellenic, but Semitic, presenting, under a disguise of Greek names, a narration belonging to the same family as the cosmogonies of Sanchoniathon.

Its restoration has already been attempted by: Sturz, *Pherecydis fragmenta*, 2d Ed. (1824), pp. 38–53; *Commentatio de Pherecyde Syrio et Atheniensi*, § 8; Preller, in the *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, new series, vol. IV., p. 377 et seq.; J. L. Jacobi, *Ueber die Fragmente des Pherecydes bei den Kirchenvætern*, in the *Theologische Studien* of Ullmann & Umbreit, vol. I. (1851), p. 197 et seq.; Maury, *Histoire des religions de la Grèce antique*, vol. III., pp. 249–255.

It is difficult to fix the precise epoch of the philosopher of Syros. The date varies from the 35th (Suid., *s. v. Φερεκύδης*) to the 59th Olympiad (Theopomp. *ap.* Diogen. Laërt., I., 116; see Sturz, *Comment. de Pherecyd.*, § 2; Preller, *Rhein. Mus.*, new series, vol. IV., p. 377), in the contradictory testimony handed down to us by the ancients. His work passed for the first which, among the Greeks, was written in prose (Suid., *s. v.;* Strab., I., p. 18; Eustath. *ad Iliad.*, A, p. 9; Plin., *Hist. nat.*, VII., 56; Isidor., *Orig.*, I., 37; see Sturz, *Comment.*, § 4). The title of this work and its division into books is thus indicated by Suidas:

A. All that Pherecydes has written is included in his Heptamychos, or Theocrasia, or Theogony; this is a theological work

in ten books, containing the generations and succession of the gods. (1) — Cf. Eudoc., *Violar. ap.* Villoison, *Anecd. græc.*, vol. I., p. 425.

Maximus of Tyre (*Dissert.*, x., 4) summarizes thus the essential features of the cosmogonic narrative with which it opened:

B. To see the poetic narration of Pherecydes with Zês and Chthonia, and Love produced in them, then the birth of Ophiôneus, the combat of the gods, the tree and the peplos.

Here we have three different phases symbolized:

1st. The production of the universe;

2d. The primordial cosmic struggle, which brings about

3d. The final organization of the universe.

The distinction of these three phases furnishes us with a logical classification of the fragments.

I.

C. Pherecydes makes of him who lives eternally (Zês), of Chronos (Time), and of Chthonia, the first three principles, the first preceding the two others and the two coming after the one. Then Chronos generates fire, breath and water; that is to say, as I understand it, the triple nature of the intelligible, whence proceed the innumerable generations of the gods, divided into five folds (*μυχοί*), known as *πεντέμυχος* or the quintuple world.—(Damasc., *De prim. princip.*, 124, p. 304, ed. Kopp.)

D. Pherecydes says that the first principles are Zês, Chthonia and Cronos, Zês being the ether, Chthonia the earth, and Cronos time; the ether is the active principle, the earth the passive principle, and time that in which all is produced.—(Hermias, *Irris. gentil. philosoph.*, 12.)

E. Lucretius recognizes the fact that the world had a triple origin. . . . . Pherecydes is of the same opinion, but admits different elements, Zês, Chthonia and Cronos; in other words, fire, earth and time, adding that fiery ether governs the earth, the earth governs time, in which all is regulated.—Prob. *ad* Virgil., *Eclog.*, vi., 31.)

The opening sentences of the book in which these first principles were enounced have been preserved for us verbatim by Diogenes Laertes:

(1) Evidently in this place διαδόχους should be corrected to διαδοχάς, to make good sense.

F. Zeus was first, and Chronos (time) always the same, and Chthonia. Afterward Chthonia took the name of Gê (earth), when Zeus had given his honor (*γέρας*) to her.—(Diogen. Laërt., I., 119.)

Zeus, for whom Pherecydes used the peculiar form Zês (Eustath. *ad Odyss.*, A, p. 1387), explained by Hermias to signify ether, by Probus fiery ether, or fire, and qualified by Damascius as He who lives eternally, by means of a play of words on *Ζῆς* and *ζῶν*, which doubtless may be traced back to the philosopher himself, corresponds exactly to the Breath (*Rûaḥ*) of the first cosmogony of Sanchoniathon. Aristotle gives a more philosophical and spiritual form to this, but the same idea recurs:

G. Those among the ancients who mixed these things together (philosophic truths and fables) say this without recourse to the myths, as Pherecydes and others, who say that the first existing was the sovereign good, the Magians also, and, among later sages, Empedocles and Anaxagoras affirm that the first principle was, according to the one, the attraction of love (*φιλία*), according to the other, mind.—(Aristotle, *Metaphysic.*, N, 4.)

It is true that we also have:

H. Zeus is the Sun, according to Pherecydes.—(Joh. Laurent. Lyd., *De Mens.*, IV., 3.)

But it is evident that here the Byzantine writer, to whom we owe this information, has confounded the Sun with the fiery principle, the cause of life and motion, or at least that what he says does not refer to cosmogonic beginnings. For if Pherecydes could have identified Zês with the Sun, it could only have been at a later epoch, in recognizing the fact that in a world once definitively organized this first principle of life locates itself permanently in the orb of day.

In Sanchoniathon's first cosmogony the Breath falls in love with his own principles, and this is the starting-point of the birth of the universe. Pherecydes expresses the same idea under a somewhat different form:

I. Pherecydes says that Zeus transformed himself into Eros in order to accomplish his demiurgic labor. For he brought into concord and true harmony the world composed of contrary elements, sowing therein that accord and union which govern all things.—(Procl., *In Tim.*, III., p. 156.)

The original state of the dyad which succeeded the primordial monad was, according to Pherecydes, essentially chaotic, a state of unrest and full of antagonisms, before the demiurgic work:

J. The ancients saw the dyad in matter and its diversity. Pherecydes, too, called this dyad Daring (*τόλμη*), others Impulse (*ὁρμή*) or Opinion (*δόξα*), because opinion is a mixture of the true and the false. In fact, matter yields to all, is unstable and changes into a thousand forms, suffering ill and bearing pain, because in its nature it is divisible and separable.—(Johan. Laurent. Lyd., *De Mens.*, II., 6.)

The material and passive principle of Pherecydes' cosmogony over which Zês, the active and spiritual principle, broods, is Chthonia. We have seen how Hermias and Probus define it as the earth. Sextus Empiricus does the same thing:

K. Pherecydes of Syros says that the earth was the principle of all things; Thales of Miletus says the same of water; Anaximander, his disciple, that it was the infinite; Anaximenes and Diogenes of Apollonia, the air; Hippasos of Metapontus, fire and water; Xenophanes of Colophon, earth and water; Œnopides of Chios, fire and air; Hippo of Rhêgion, fire and water; Onomacritus, in his *Orphics*, fire, water and earth; and, lastly, Empedocles and the Stoics, fire, air, water and earth.—(Sext. Empir., *Pyrrhonian. hypotypos.*, III., 4, p. 126, ed. Bekker.)

But this is negatived by the very phrase at the opening of Pherecydes' book, as preserved to us by Diogenes Laertes. (*F*) In reality, Chthonia is the moist and chaotic matter in which the elements of earth and water are still mingled. And it is thus that a series of testimonies may be explained which at first glance seem absolutely to contradict those that have just been given:

L. Thales of Miletus and Pherecydes of Syros accept water as the first principle of all things. And Pherecydes calls it Chaos, drawing this term, as it would appear, from Hesiod (*Theogon.*, v., 116), who says: "Before all else there was Chaos." In fact, the philosopher, referring *χάος* to the verb *χεῖσθαι*, "to be poured, to flow," applies this name to the element of water.—(Achill. Tat., *Isagog.* in Arat. *Phænom.*, 3, p. 123, ed. Petav.)

M. The poet calls the sea "ancient" because it was the first of the elements, according to Pherecydes and Thales.—Tzetz. *ad* Lycophr., *Cassandr.*, v. 145; cf. Favorin., v. *δήναιαν θάλασσαν.*)

N. Pherecydes of Syros and Thales of Miletus affirm that water was the beginning of all things, adopting the saying of Hesiod.—(Schol. *ad* Hesiod., *Theogon.*, v. 116.)

According to the expressions of fragment *F* itself, it is only after the demiurgic operation that Chthonia becomes Gê, or the earth, in the proper sense, "when Zeus has given her her honor." And Grotius (*De veritat. relig. Christ.*, I., 16, p. 27 of the Amsterdam ed., 1709 [p. 10 ed. London, 1679. Tr.]), Tiedemann (*Griechenlands erste Philosophen*, p. 172), and Sturz (*Pherecyd. fragment.*, p. 40 et seq.) have perfectly understood that what is meant by these enigmatic terms is the creative work attributed to the third day in *Genesis* i. 9 and 10, and defined, after saying that the dry land and the waters were separated under the heavens, by the words: "Elohim named the dry [land] earth and he named the gathering of the waters sea."

In truth, dating from the work of the demiurge, Zês, transformed into Eros, the primitive unity of Chthonia resolves itself into the duality of earth and ocean, the two constituent parts of the terrestrial world, to which Pherecydes gave the names of Gê and Ogên (Clem. Alex., *Stromat.*,VI., [cap. II.] p. 264, ed. Sylburg [ed. Migne, vol. II., p. 220. Tr.]). On the use of the ancient expression *Ogên*, instead of Ocean, see again Tzetz. *ad* Lycophr., *Cassandr.*, v. 231.

At the same time that this demiurgic production is taking place in the womb of Chthonia by the operation of Zês, Chronos begets the three celestial elements, fire, breath and water (*C*). Thus is constituted the quintuple world (*πεντέκοσμος*) with its five folds (*μυχοί*); wherefore it is called *πεντέμυχος*.

Porphyry gives a refined explanation to this expression of *μυχοί*, which must be taken rather as expressing his ideas than those of Pherecydes himself:

O. The symbol of nature having everywhere a double entrance, the poet (Homer) correctly depicts the grotto (of the nymphs) as having two gates instead of one, two gates really different; for one is for the gods and goods, the other for men and gods. And Plato starts from this point to become acquainted

with craters, only using pithos instead of amphoræ, and two openings instead of two gates. As to Pherecydes of Syros, he speaks of folds (*μυχοί*), of gulfs, of grottos, of gates and of entrances, symbolizing thus the births and deceases of animated beings.—(Porphyr., *De Antr. Nymph.*, 31.)

This is justified, moreover, in part by the fact that Pherecydes made his five folds of the world correspond to five families of cosmic and elementary gods. (*C*) We know only the names of three among them, the Cronides, the Ophionides (*T*) and the Ogênides (Hesych, *s. v.* 'Ωγήν.).

Pherecydes' book bears the title of 'Επτάμυχος, as we have seen, which indicates that the philosopher, besides the five elements, counted two cosmic folds, making seven in all. These two must correspond to Chthonia and to Chronos, in whom Zês operated.

II.

Unfortunately nothing has come down to us of the myth of the birth of Ophiôneus, who, according to Maximus of Tyre, succeeded in Pherecydes' cosmogony to Love awakened in the bosom of Zês and of Chthonia. (*B*)

The remains which we possess treat only of the war of the gods, the recital of which follows upon the other always, according to Maximus of Tyre. The antagonistic actors in this war were Ophiôneus, or Ophion, and Cronos, who should not be confounded with the primordial Chronos, reckoned in the number of the primordial principles of the universe :

P. The conception of the Satan (of the Jews) is, moreover, taken from ancient myths ill understood, relating to a divine war spoken of in the old traditions. Heraclitus alludes to it when he writes: "It must be known that there is an universal war, that discord performs the office of justice, and according to its laws all things are born and perish." And Pherecydes, older by far than Heraclitus, represents in a myth two inimical armies, one having Cronos as its chief, the other Ophiôneus, and recounts their challenges, their combats, and the agreement made that the party cast into the Ogên should acknowledge itself vanquished, while the other party which should have cast the first down should come into possession of heaven as the reward of its victory.—(Cels. *ap*. Origen., *Adv. Cels.*, VI., p. 303 [ed. Paris, p. 663, 664; ed. Migne, I., p. 1359 et. seq. Tr.]).

The following testimony alludes to the victory gained in this struggle:

Q. Pherecydes records that Saturn gained over all the rest the triumphal crown.—(Tertullian, *De Coron. Mil.*, cap. VII., p. 531, ed. Froben.)

Ophion, or Ophiôneus, becomes, with the poets of the decadence, one of the giants struck by Jupiter with a thunderbolt (Claudian, *De rapt. Proserp.*, III., v. 348). But the history of his quarrel with Cronos was peculiar to Pherecydes alone. We are also correct in adding to the fragments of the philosopher of Syros some passages which describe this quarrel and complete the account of Celsus. There is no manner of doubt that it was all originally taken from Pherecydes:

R. Before Cronos and Rhea, Ophion and Eurynome, the daughter of the Ocean, reigned over the gods who were called Titans. Afterwards, Cronos having vanquished Ophion, Rhea having overcome Eurynome in a struggle and precipitated her into Tartarus, they reigned over the gods. Zeus, in his turn, having flung them into Tartarus, possessed himself of the power exercised by Cronos and Rhea before him. But they having been preceded by Ophion and Eurynome, the poet is correct in speaking of Zeus as sovereign over the kingdom of Ophion and Eurynome.—(Tzetz. *ad* Lycophr., *Cassandr.*, v. 1191.)

S. He (Orpheus) sang how that Ophion and the Oceanide Eurynome in the beginning exercised the dominion on the snowy Olympus; how, deprived of their honors through violence, he by the hands of Cronos, she by those of Rhea, they fell into the billows of the Ocean; how Cronos and Rhea reigned over the Titans, fortunate gods, as long as Zeus, still a child and his mind capable only of childish things, dwelt in the cave of Dictë, before the Cyclops, sons of the Earth, had armed him with the bolt, the lightning and the thunder.—(Apollon. Rhod., *Argonaut.*, I., v. 503–511.)

In placing this in the mouth of Orpheus, the poet seems to indicate that some of the branches of Orphism had adopted this account borrowed from Pherecydes.

Nonnos of Panopolis (*Dionysiac.*, II., v. 573) makes Zeus say in derision to Typhon, whom he has just struck with his thunder-

bolt: "Now, cause to ascend out of Tartarus into the ether Ophion and Eurynome on one side, Cronos on the other, henceforth reconciled by thy care."

As may be seen, the combat of Ophion, or Ophiôneus, and of Cronos, in Pherecydes' account, corresponded to that of Heaven and Cronos in the great epic narrative of Byblos, which has been preserved to us among the fragments of Sanchoniathon. (II., *G*) With Nonnos, it is "the old Ophion," *γέρων 'Οφίων*, who wrote in red letters (*γράμματι φοινικόεντι*; doubtless the poet misunderstood a reading which referred to "Phœnician letters") all the destinies of the world in the orbits of the planets (Nonn., *Dionysiac.*, XLI., v. 351 et seq.), a rendering borrowed undoubtedly from Pherecydes; the oracle of the stars is an "oracle of Ophion," *'Οφιονίη ὀμφή* (*Dionysiac.*, XLI., v. 399); astrology, "the art of Ophion," *'Οφιονίη τέχνη* (*Dionysiac.*, XLI., v. 362). All this clearly shows this personage to be a synonym of Uranos. And for this reason Nicomachus of Gerasa (*ap.* Phot., *Biblioth.*, 187, p. 143, ed. Bekker) says that the numeric triad was called Ophion, because he, like the sky, included within himself the three celestial elements.

"The Phœnicians," says Macrobius (*Saturn.*, I., 9), "wishing to symbolize the world, that is to say, heaven, in their sacred images, represent a serpent entwined in a circle and biting his tail, by way of showing that the world feeds upon itself and turns upon itself." Varro (*De ling. lat.*, V., 10 [ed. Müller, 1833, §57. Tr.]) says likewise: "The first among the gods are the Heaven and the Earth, called by the Egyptians Serapis and Iris, by the Phœnicians, Taautes and Astarte." It is evident that here the Latin writer, unfamiliar with the Phœnician, deceived by a similarity in sound, confounded the name of the god, adopted from Egypt, Ṭaut, the divine type of the hierogrammaton, who never could have been an Uranic personification, with the word *ṭêṭ*, one of the names of the serpent, emblem of heaven. And to justify the use which we make of these two passages, it will suffice to call to mind that Eusebius, after quoting the fragment translated from Sanchoniathon by Philo of Byblos, on the symbolic character of the serpent among the Phœnicians, which we have recorded above (II., *N*), adds:

T. Pherecydes, making the Phœnicians his starting-point, gives a theological dissertation on the god whom he calls Ophiôneus and

on the Ophionides, of whom we will speak farther on.(1) And it is with the same thought that the Egyptians, when they symbolize the universe, draw a circle, painted the color of the air (blue), and strewn with flames, having in its midst a serpent with the head of a sparrow-hawk, extended horizontally, the whole forming our letter *thêta.* The circle represents the world, and the serpent, which, in its centre, unites its two extremities, the good genius.—(Euseb., *Præpar. evangel.*, I., 10; Sanchoniath., p. 46, ed. Orelli.)

But if the Ophiôneus or Ophion of Pherecydes, like the Uranos of the Sanchoniathon of Philo of Byblos, represents the heaven, it is the primordial heaven of the universe in its newly-made and imperfectly organized condition, wherein still reigns the spirit of discord, of hostility and of darkness. Order may not succeed to its confused and troubled state until after a struggle, in which it becomes the antagonist of the gods, who represent the progress of the world toward a perfect condition. Anu, who corresponds to Uranus in the Euphratic mythology, appears in the same character in the curious Chaldæo-Babylonian poem, the existing fragment of which is recorded a little above, under No. I., *I.* The account refers to the earliest age of the world. Heaven has already been created, with its stars, and Anu presides over them; but their motions are not yet regular, and the Seven Evil Spirits, sons of Anu, constantly carry confusion among them. Êa and Bel, whose names the Greeks translated Cronos and Zeus, resolve to put an end to this state of things. They establish Shin (the Moon), Shamash (the Sun), and Ishtar (the planet Venus), in the government of the stars, so that they shall henceforth be compelled to follow regular orbits. But the seven sons of Anu endeavor to put obstacles in the way of the institution of this new order of things. They fall upon Shin, to whom the Chaldæo-Babylonians attributed the primacy among the celestial luminaries, in order to prevent his fulfillment of his mission. Shamash and Ishtar abandon their companion, who is eclipsed, and plant themselves beside Anu, who does not take part in the struggle, but is present as a spectator, favorable to the adversaries of the lunar god. It is necessary, finally, in order to bring the struggle to a conclusion, that Êa-Cronos should interfere, and send his son Marduk, the champion of the gods, to deliver Shin, by hurling the seven sons of Anu into the abyss.

(1) Eusebius does not again refer to the Ophionides; but this whole passage is an extract from either Philo of Byblos or Porphyry.

All this helps us to understand how the serpent Uranos, or Ophion fought against by Cronos in the account borrowed from Phœnicia by Pherecydes, becomes the serpent-tempter of the third chapter of *Genesis;* how the name *hânâḥâsh hâqadmôni*, corresponding exactly to γέρων 'Οφίων, is an appellation of Satan among the Jewish Rabbins (Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. I., pp. 822, 823, 825–827, 833, 834, 837), and is reproduced in the δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος of the Apocalypse (xii. 9; xx. 2), conquered by the Archangel Michael and chained in the abyss. And to make sure that *Nâḥâsh qadmûn* is really an ancient name of Phœnician mythology, the same indeed that Pherecydes translated as γέρων 'Οφίων or 'Οφιωνεὺς, we must first refer to the beginning of the epic narrative of Byblos (II., *G*), preserved in the fragments of the Sanchoniathon of Philo of Byblos, in which it says that Uranos was likewise called Epigeios or Autochthôn, in other words *Âdâm qadmûn*, and after that to the Hellenized myth, in which Cadmos (*Qadmûn*) and his spouse Harmonia, grown old, metamorphose themselves into serpents (Apollodor., III., 1, 1; 4, 1 et seq., 5, 4; cf. Pindar, *Olymp.*, II., v. 141; Schol. *ad* Pindar, *Pyth.*, III., v. 153 and 167; Strab., I., p. 46; VII., p. 326; Pausan., IX., 5, 1; Hygin., *Fab.*, 6; Ovid, *Metamorph.*, III., v. 98; IV., v. 375).

In this last account, the spouse of the "ancient Serpent" (Cadmos =*Qadmûn* is called ὁ παλαιὸς, the translation of his name in Clem. Alex., *Stromat.*, VI., p. 267, ed. Sylburg [cap. II.; ed. Migne, vol. II., p. 241 et seq. Tr.]) is given a name which expresses the idea of a certain principle of order existing already in the still imperfect creation over which both preside. The same idea is suggested by the name of Eurynome, which Pherecydes gives to the spouse of Ophiôneus. This name had, in fact, been already used, before his time, to designate an Oceanide, whom Homer mentions as receiving, with Thetis, Hephaistos, driven from Olympus by Hera (*Iliad*, Σ, v. 393), and whom, as Hesiod tells us (*Theogon.*, v. 908; cf. Orph., *Hymn* lix. [lx.], v. 2), Zeus made the mother of the Charites. Pausanias introduces to us the plastic form under which the Greeks of the remote ages of antiquity represented this Eurynome (VIII., 41, 4): "About twelve stadia above Phigalia are baths of hot water, near the confluence of the Lymax with the Nêda. At the very confluence is the sanctuary of Eurynome, sacred from the earliest times, and difficult of access on account of the roughness of the place. The Phigalians believe that Eurynome is a surname of Artemis; but those among them who have studied the documents

of antiquity say that she is a daughter of Oceanos, of whom Homer makes mention in the *Iliad*, as having, with Thetis, received Hephaistos. Once a year, on a certain day, the temple of Eurynome, which is closed the rest of the time, is opened, and public and private sacrifices are offered there. I was not able to reach there in time for the feast-day, therefore I did not see the statue of Eurynome. But I learned from the inhabitants of Phigalia that the xoanon is bound with golden chains, and that it represents the figure of a woman down to the springing of the thighs, terminating from that point in a fish. This fish naturally agrees very well with the idea of an Oceanide, who dwells in the bottom of the sea with Thetis. But such a form has no apparent applicability to the character of Artemis."

It is not improbable that Pherecydes may have adopted the name of Eurynome, found in Homer and Hesiod, on account of its assonance, though imperfect, with the appellation of the Phœnician goddess 'Ashtar-No'emâ, who is said by Proclus to have been regarded as mother of the gods in Phœnicia, and in connection with whom he related, in his *Life of Isidor* (*ap.* Phot. *Biblioth.*, 242, p. 352, ed. Bekker), a mythological story, which seems to have originated at Sidon. Sadycos (*Çüdüq*) had sons called Dioscuri or Cabiri (*Kabîrîm*). The eighth of these was Esmunos (*Eshmûn*), translated Asclepios. He was the most beautiful and charming person that ever was seen, and, as the fable tells us, inspired Astronomë, the Phœnician goddess, mother of the gods, with a violent passion. While hunting in these coppices one day, as was his habit, he saw the goddess follow him, and, on his flight, pursue him, but just as she was about to seize him he mutilated himself with a blow of his axe. She, overcome with grief, having called to her succor Paian (*Rûphê*), reanimated the young man with her vivifying heat, and made a god of him, and the Phœnicians called him Esmunos, "from the burning heat (*êsh ḥamûn*) of life." In the *Chronicon Pascale* (vol. I., p. 66, Bonn edition), this *'Ashtar No'emâ* appears as Astynomë, of the island of Asteria, daughter of Cronos, who, uniting with Aphraos, becomes the mother of Aphrodite.

III.

In the cosmogony of Pherecydes, as well as in the Phœnician epic narratives handed down by Sanchoniathon (II., *L*), the reign of Zeus succeeded that of Cronos. But we cannot tell whether with Pherecydes this change in the government of the universe, marking

a new advance in the constitution of the universe, was brought about, as in Greek mythology, and with the Phœnician author translated into Greek by Philo of Byblos, in consequence of a new divine war similar to that of Cronos against Ophiôneus, and whether Zeus deposed Cronos by violence.

In any case, the Zeus who assumed after Cronos the dominion over all things was then no longer, as at the beginning of the cosmogony, the first principle of the universe. By an evolution out of himself, after having first transformed himself into Eros in order to create the elements of the world, he became the last demiurge, who completed the work of creation, and the monarch of this creation definitely organized. He was thus the *alpha* and the *ômega* of the system of divine generations. And the philosopher of Syros had faithfully preserved in this wise the idea, fundamental in the religions of Asia Minor, of the god who begets himself, reproducing himself eternally under younger form, in a son identical with his original. In the fragments of Sanchoniathon (II., *G*), it is the second Cronos, homonym of the first, his father, the solar *Ba'al* succeeding the *Ba'al-êthân*, or *Bo'l-âthên*, "Ba'al the ancient," who is identified with Îl-Cronos (Damasc. *ap.* Phot., *Biblioth.*, 242, p. 343, ed. Bekker), the *Bel-Marduk*, last demiurge and preserver of the good order of the world, indefatigable and ever wakeful adversary of the evil demons, that the Chaldæo-Assyrian mythology places a generation after *Bel labiru* (in Accadian *Elim uara*), "Bel the ancient." With this manifestation of Zeus under a new aspect is evidently connected the information already noted by us above (*H*), taken from Pherecydes by John Laurentios, the Lydian.

The final completion of the demiurgic work, which marked the coming of the new Zeus to power, was presented in the accounts of Pherecydes, under a symbolic form indicated by Maximus of Tyre (*B*), when he speaks of "the tree and the peplos," as the last episode of the cosmogony.

These expressions are explained by other testimony:

U. What the winged oak and the embroidered veil that covers it over are,—all things that Pherecydes has put in allegory in his theology, drawing them from the prophecy of Cham.—(Isidor. Basilidian. *ap.* Clem. Alex., *Stromat.*, VI., p. 272, ed. Sylburg. [cap. VI.,; ed. Migne, vol. II., p. 276. Tr.])

The mention of "the prophecy of Cham" is an addition belonging to the system of the son of Basilides. But it does not injure the value

of the information to which it is added. This is, in fact, not only confirmed by Maximus of Tyre, but also by a direct loan made by Clemens Alexandrinus from the work of Pherecydes:

V. Zês made a great and magnificent veil on which are embroidered the earth, the ogên, and the dwellings of Ogên.—(Clem. Alex., *Stromat.*, VI., p. 264, ed. Sylburg, [Cap. II.; ed. Migne, vol. II. p. 220]).

This magnificent veil, on which is the figure of the universe in all its dazzling variety, Nonnos of Panopolis (Dionysiac, xli., v. 294–302) represents Harmonia, "the mother of all things" (*παμμήτωρ* [l. 276]), as weaving in her palace. We have already quoted from Nonnos notices of Ophion, which originated with Pherecydes. This, then, must have been the same thing as the cosmic peplos, and therefore I feel justified in introducing in this place the description the poet gives of it:

W. Bent above Athene's cunning loom, Harmonia wove a peplos with the shuttle; in the stuff which she wove, she first represented the earth with its omphalos in the centre; around the earth she spread out the sphere of heaven, varied by the figures of the stars. She harmoniously accompanied the earth with the sea that is associated with it, and she painted thereon the rivers, under their image of bulls with men's faces furnished with horns. Lastly, all along the exterior edge of the well-woven vestment she represented the Ocean in a circle enveloping the Universe in its course.

Thus, the universe definitively organized by Zeus, with the assistance of Harmonia, was depicted by Pherecydes as an immense tree, furnished with wings to promote its rotatory motion, a tree whose roots were plunged into the abyss, and whose extended branches sustained the unfolded veil of the firmament decorated with the types of all terrestrial and celestial forms. We have already spoken of this symbolic conception, which suggests a splendid image of the universe as a whole (p. 105 *N.*).

Pausanias (II., 1, 7) says that at Gabala in Syria a sacred peplos was preserved, a symbolic image of the cosmic veil, in the Temple of Dôtô, a goddess whose name is simply an Aramaic synonym (*dôthô*, "the Law") of the Phœnician name of Thôrô, which we find given in the fragments of Sanchoniathon (II., *M.*), as one of the appellations of Ḥusharth-Harmonia.

The traveler adds that this peplos is that which the Hellenes say belonged to Eriphyle. In truth, the cosmic peplos played an important part in the Græco-Phœnician fables about Europa and the family of Cadmos. They tell how it was given by Zeus to Europa

as a bridal present, and afterwards presented by the latter to Harmonia, on the occasion of her union with Cadmos; later again, it appears, together with the fatal necklace, among the ornaments which decide Eriphyle to betray the secret of her spouse, Amphiaraos (Apollodor., III., 4, 2; 6, 2; 7, 5; Diod. Sic., IV., 65 and 66). The sons of Phêgeus afterwards dedicated the ornaments of Eriphyle in the temple of Delphi (Apollodor., III., 7, 6), whence they were stolen (Pausan., IX., 41, 2), and the necklace carried to Amathonte in Crete, at the same time that the peplos was taken to Gabala.

We must now recall the fact that the hierogamy of Zeus and Europa was annually celebrated at Gortyna in Crete, or, in other words, of Ba'al, the bull, and of 'Ashtharth, the tauropole, Phœnician importations (Bœttiger, *Ideen zur Kunstmythologie*, vol. I., p. 307 et seq.; Hœck, *Kreta*, vol. I., p. 53 et seq.; Welcker, *über eine Kretische Colonie in Theben, die Gœttin Europa und Kadmos der Kœnig*, p. 1 et seq.; Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, vol. I., p. 509), beside a sacred plantain (Theophrast., *Hist. plant*, I., 15; Plin., *Hist. nat.*, xii., 11; cf. Varr., *De re rust.*, I., 7, 6), having the precise character of a Kena'anite Ashêrâh, a vegetable simulacrum of the goddess herself. On the silver coins of this city (Ch. Lenormant, *Nouv. galerie mythologique*, pl. ix., Nos. 14 and 15; Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, vol. I.; *Münztafel*, vi., Nos. 2–7; Overbeck has dedicated an excellent commentary to the impression of these coins: work cited, vol. I., p. 445 et seq.). Europa is represented seated between the branches of the plantain, waiting for her divine spouse, who is figured by a bull on the reverse of the coin. Several copies show us, besides, the symbolic peplos, which, with a gesture of her arm, Europa unfurls over her head amid the branches of the tree.

This entirely confirms, I think, what I said above (p. 96 et seq), that in the conceptions of the Semites and Kena'anites of Asia Minor, the cosmic tree, identical with the tree of life, is confounded with the budding *ashêrâh*, the sacred image of the feminine and Chthonian divinity, of which the celestial and solar male deity is the spouse, the goddess residing in the *ashêrâh*, just as the male god resides in the sacred stone, *bêth-il* or *ḥammâm*. The *ashêrâh*, which is made artificially that it may be worshiped, is the figure and representation of the cosmic tree.

IV.

But all the cosmogonic struggles did not end with the accession of Zeus to the dominion. The power of darkness and of disorder did not yet acknowledge itself as finally overcome. It attempted once more to take possession of the universe, and to destroy therein the new order which the god had established. Hence a new divine war, a repetition of that carried on by Cronos against Ophiôneus, a war in which Zeus fights with a new Ophion, the youngest born of the Ophionides, similar in form to him who formerly ruled the world, but much more unmitigatedly wicked, having become completely and utterly the enemy, the representative of the evil principle. I speak now of the struggle of Zeus against Typhon, Typhaon or Typhôeus, the personification at once of the burning whirlwind which overwhelms the atmosphere and the volcanic fires which convulse the earth. This fable is undoubtedly of Syro-Phœnician origin, and in the religions of these countries held a place corresponding to that of the Gigantomachy in the Hellenic myths, properly so called. At an early day it penetrated into Greece through Asia Minor, coming from the peculiarly Aramaic countries. We have two plain proofs of this, the first residing in the fact that the oldest mention which appears to exist of the combat of Zeus and Typhon, in the Homeric poems (*Iliad*, B, v. 782 et seq.; cf. Strab., XIII., p. 626), fixes the abode of this monster among the Aramæans, ἐν 'Αρίμοις (the Latin poets have manufactured from this the island of Inarime: Virgil, *Æneid*, ix., v. 716; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xiv., v. 89). The second proof may be found in the name of Typhon or Typhaon itself, derived from a Semitic type, *Ṭephôn* or *Ṭûphôn*, an Aramaic form corresponding to the Phœnician *Çephûn*, which we are familiar with through the Bible. The later poets make Typhon dwell in Cilicia (Pindar, *Pyth.*, viii., v. 21; Æschyl., *Prometh.*, v. 351), in other words, still in a Phœnician country. Typhon is invariably represented as an ophiomorphic being, or at least as anguipede (see the stamp on the coins of Seleucia of the Calycadnos in Cilicia, Eckhel, *Doctr. num. vet.*, vol. III., p. 66; the painted vase published by Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, vol. III., pl. ccxxxvii., and several other analogous ones, the list of which is given by Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, vol. I., p. 394 et seq., and by Heydemann, *Zeus im Gigantenkampf*, p. 14). The two names of Typhon (Strab., XVI., p. 750) and of Dracon or Ophites

(Eustath. *ad* Dionys., *Perieges*, v. 919; Johan. Malal.,VIII., p. 197, Bonn edition) are also given as synonymous appellations of the river Orontes in Syria.

Before Pherecydes, Homer had already sung in his *Iliad* the victory of Zeus over Typhon, and Hesiod had given an important place in his *Theogony* to the history of the monster Typhôeus, father of the wind Typhaon, and of all the family of mythological monsters, of his attempt to seize upon the dominion of heaven and the universe by dethroning Zeus, and of his being crushed beneath the hurling thunderbolts. The philosopher of Syros included in his book this cosmogonic myth likewise, though doubtless preserving more distinctly its Phœnician physiognomy than we have received it.

X. Pherecydes relates in his *Theogony*, that Typhon, pursued by Zeus, fled to the Caucasus, and that, this mountain having been set on fire by the thunderbolt, he sought refuge in Italy, where the island of Pithecusa was cast upon him.—(Schol. *ad* Apollon. Rhod. *Argonaut.*, II., v. 1214.)

The mention of the *Theogony* proves that this is borrowed from Pherecydes of Syros, whose book is sometimes mentioned by this name, and not from the historian, Pherecydes of Athens, among whose remains it is ordinarily included. For the work of this last is invariably designated by the names Ἱστορίαι or Ἀρχαιολογία.

It seems to me, moreover, that it is possible to draw from this sentence only one exact meaning: that the philosopher of Syros had included the history of Typhon in his Theogony or Ἑπτάμυχος. For the rest, the information of the scholiast must be at third or fourth hand, and furthermore it is evident that it is greatly corrupted. The belief that Typhon is buried under the island of Ænaria or Pithecusa, off the coast of Campania, does not appear until quite late (Virgil, ix., v. 716; Serv. *a. h. l.*), and cannot be found either in the records of Pherecydes of Syros, or even Pherecydes of Athens, for it did not exist in the time of either writer. It is the last step in a gradual shifting of the theatre of this legend in an westward direction (Schol. *ad* Pindar., *Olymp.*, iv., v. 11; Pyth. I., v. 31), localized at first, as regards European countries, in Bœotia (Hesiod, *Scut. Hercul.*, v. 32; Tzetz. *ad* Lycophr. *Cassandr.*, v. 177), afterwards under Etna, as was generally conceded at the period of Pindar and the Tragic poets (Æschyl., *Prometh.*, v. 361 et seq.; Pindar, *Pyth.*, i., v. 29 et seq.; cf. Ovid, *Heroid.*, xv., v. 11; *Fast.*, iv., v. 491).

The narrative of Apollonios of Rhodes itself, in connection with

which the scholiast wrote the sentence which we have just translated, seems to correspond better with what must have been the true reading of the philosopher of Syros. We have already proved from the history of Ophion and Eurynome an adoption more or less direct of the cosmogonic narratives of Pherecydes, made by Apollonios of Rhodes:

Y. In such wise does the immortal and ever-wakeful serpent (the guardian of the golden fleece), which the Earth herself produced in the escarpments of the Caucasus, contort itself there where the rock of Typhon is, where, as the saying goes, Typhon, struck by thunder by Zeus Cronides, when he directed against him his hostile hands, spread the burning blood of his head; and thence having traversed the mountain and the plain of Nysa, he now lies buried under the waters of the Serbonian Lake.—Apollon. Rhod., (*Argonaut.* II., v. 1212–1219.)

Herodotus (III., 5) is also acquainted with the local tradition which describes Typhon as swallowed up in the abyss of the Serbonian Lake, and there exactly is located a mountain called Nysa, the Arabian Nysa, mentioned in one of the hymns of the Homeric collection (xxvi., v. 5 et seq.; cf. Diod. Sic. III., 65), as situated upon the frontier of Egypt. But it is not natural to represent a personage smitten by thunder upon Caucasus, and falling from this mountain into the lake in the vicinity of Pelusium. Apollodorus (I, 6, 3), mentions Casion as the mountain where Zeus smote Typhon with thunder, and Casion is the mountain which commands the Serbonian Lake. Casion is really the name that Pherecydes must have used, and which his copyists or persons making extracts from his writings altered as early as the time of Apollonios, making it into Caucasus. This mountain was, in fact, the point where the Phœnician fable was localized, and the Rock of Typhon is undoubtedly the rock of Casion, whereon rose the Sanctuary, called by the Egyptian hieroglyphic documents *Bâ'li Zapuna*, the *Ba'al Çephôn* of the itinerary of the Hebrews at the Exodus (*Exod.* xiv., 2 and 9; *Num.* xxxiii., 7), according to the ingenious restoration of that itinerary by Brugsch. (*Transactions of the Second Session of the International Congress of Orientalists, held in London* [1874], p. 278; *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, translation of Danby Seymour and Ph. Smith, vol. II., p. 363). Mount Casion itself owes its name to this tradition, for the Zeus Casios worshiped there (Strab. xvi., p. 760; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v., 12, 14), the *Qaçiu* of the Aramaic inscription (De Vogué, *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions Sémitiques*,

Haouran, No. 5; Nabatæan texts, No. 4) is the god who casts himself from heaven to earth in the form of a thunderbolt or aërolite (Fr. Lenormant, *Lettres assyriologiques*, vol. II., p. 119).

Apollodorus (I, 6, 3), relates that on Casion, Typhon, though wounded by Zeus' thunderbolt, entangled the god in his serpents' coils, and succeeded in depriving him of the sinews of his arms and legs, which left the Master of Olympus without strength, and assured the temporary domination of Typhon over the universe, until Zeus should have succeeded in recovering his sinews. This curious story in which the sinews of the king of the gods symbolize the bonds which maintain the harmony of the universe constitutes the Phœnician fable, properly speaking, of the struggle of *Ba'al* and *Çephôn*. Nonnos, who has collected so many myths of Phœnicia, and particularly, as we have seen, several of those that were adopted by Pherecydes, worked this one out curiously in the first canto of his *Dionysiacs :*

Zeus deprived by Typhon of his thunderbolt, and the javelin which had been the weapon of his father Cronos before him, at the same time that the monster tore from him his sinews, calls Cadmos to his succour. He promises the Syrian hero, should he succeed in restoring to him his strength and his weapons, to proclaim him the Saviour and restorer of the harmony of the Universe, and, as such, to give him Harmonia as his wife. Cadmos undertakes this enterprise, and sets out for the country of the Arimes. Disguised as a shepherd, he presents himself playing upon the flute before the grotto where Typhon dwells, and where he has hidden the sinews of Zeus. Charmed by the sounds of the instrument, the monster issues forth from his cavern, and Cadmos flees at the sight of him. But Typhon calls to him, reassures him, and asks him to stop and to continue his music. A conversation takes place between them, and Cadmos says that the sound of his flute is nothing, that he will make him hear music far more beautiful if Typhon will give him threads to restring his lyre, which have been broken by the thunder of the Olympians. Typhon allows himself to be deceived by these words, and gives Cadmos the sinews of Zeus to serve as strings for his lyre. Cadmos seizes them eagerly, and flees with the utmost precipitation to carry them to Zeus, who thus recovers his strength, and after that is able to fight against his enemy and conquer him.

The sound of the flute here is a symbol of the cosmic harmony, and "Typhon listens without being able to understand it." (Nonn.

Dionysiac., I., v. 520), and Pindar (*Pyth.* I., v. 31) is faithful to the same symbolism, when he represents the Cilician monster as an enemy of music. This fact gives us an insight into the particular myth travestied by Euhemerus, when he pretended that Harmonia was a flute-player and Cadmos a cook (Athen. xiv., p. 658).

As early as the thirty-third Olympiad, the cyclic poet Pisander sang the intervention of Cadmos as the auxiliary and counsellor of Zeus in his struggle with Typhon (Olympiador. *ad* Plat. *Phœd.*, p. 251). All that Nonnos here attributes to the son of Agenor, Apollodorus places (I, 6, 3) under the name of Hermes. In the same way, on the Apulian vase, published by Heydeman (*Zeus im Gigantenkampf*, Halle, 1876), it is Hermes who performs the office of charioteer to the car in which Zeus is mounted, armed with the thunderbolt, by means of which he cast the serpent-footed Typhœus into the sea, crushing down his head with the rock of the island of Pithecusa, or Etna, while the wind Typhaon attempts in vain to protect him by blowing violently.

Such a substitution shows plainly, what is moreover evident to any sensible person, that the Cadmos here referred to has nothing in common with the *Naḥâsh qadmûn*, but is *Qadmûn* understood as the synonym of *Qadmiêl*, he who stands before the god, who walks in front of him, his minister, his messenger, his angel. The expression corresponds with that of *malâk*, the importance of which is recognized in the theological language of the Syro-Phœnician religions, standing equally high in that of the Bible. *Qadmûn*, *Qadmiêl*, *Malâk*, are appellations bestowed indifferently upon the divine son of the Phœnician Triads, the angel and minister of his father. Cadmos, indeed, plays the part of a genuine *Malâk Ba'al* when he is sent out into the world in search of his sister, Europa, by his father, Agenor, whose name is simply a Greek translation of *Ba'al* (Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, vol. II., first part, p. 131). In his quality of *Malâk*, the divine son of the Phœnician Triads is frequently assimilated with Hermes (Fr. Lenormant, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1876, p. 127, et seq.), whence his appellations of *Qadmûn* and *Qadmiêl* were, at an early day, very naturally identified with the Greek appellations Κάδμος and Κάδμῖλος (Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, vol. I., p. 500–502, and 513–522; Article *Phœnizien* in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopedia, p. 394), for Κάσμος (κόσμος) and Κασμῖλος, which were names of the Pelasgic Hermes, regarded as the author of the order of the world, and its upholder (Fréret, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.* first series, vol. XXVII., p. 18; Welcker, *Kretische Kolonie in*

Theben, p. 23, et seq; *Griechische Gœtterlehre*, vol. I., p. 330; Fr. Lenormant, article *Cabiri*, in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, p. 760).

Each year there were offered at Tyre quails in sacrifice to Heracles (*Melqarth*), in memory of this god's having been slain by Typhon, during his expedition into Libya, and resuscitated by his companion Iolaos, who made him inhale the odor of a quail, (Eudox. *ap.* Athen. ix., p. 392; Eustath. *ad Odyss.*, p. 1702). Melqarth-Hercules, the great god of Tyre, the King of the City, is here substituted for Ba'al-Zeus as antagonist of Typhon, which we also find in Virgil (*Æneid*, viii., v. 298); and Iolaos renders him a service, almost analogous to that which Cadmos renders to Zeus. Now, Iolaos appears in Polybius as the divine son in the Carthaginian Triad (A. Maury in Guigniaut, *Religions de l'antiquité*, vol. II., p. 1040; Fr. Lenormant, *Gazette archéologique*, 1876, p. 126), and the Punic inscriptions make mention of a god Yôl (Fr. Lenormant, *Gazette archéologique*, 1876, p. 127), the signification of whose name is an exact synonym of *Qadmûn*, *Qadmiêl* and *Malâk*. Thus we are justified in our interpretation of the Phœnician myth, accepted by the philosopher of Syros.

His work naturally concluded with the last struggle which assured to Zeus the maintenance of definitive and harmonious order established by him in the universe. If any matter followed the account of the combat of Zeus and Typhon, it must have consisted merely in genealogies of the gods. It constituted, so to speak, a cosmogony and theogony, not a mythological history. Sturz (*Pherecydis fragmenta*, 2d Ed., Leipzig, 1824), Matthiæ (*De Pherecydis fragmentis*, Altenburg, 1814, reproduced in F. A. Wolf's *Analecta literaria*, vol. I., 2d Part, p. 321-331), and C. Müller (*Fragmenta historicorum græcorum*, vol. I., p. xxxiv-xxxvi., and 70-99), have settled the fact that all the fragments of the last named nature which have been preserved to us by later writers under the name of Pherecydes should be attributed to the historian Pherecydes of Athens, and not to Pherecydes of Syros. The ingenious observations of Maury (*Histoire des religions de la Grèce*, vol. III., p. 252-255), upon the very advanced development of the fables of Phœnician origin, retain all their value; but this value could not result in attributing, with the learned Academician, the fragments to which it refers to the old philosopher of Syros.

The work of the son of Badys must, moreover, have been very short, and when Suidas says that there were ten books in all, he is

undoubtedly mistaken. He mixes it up with the Ἱστορίαι or Ἀρχαιολογία of Pherecydes the Athenian, to which all witnesses agree in attributing ten books.

The garb of Hellenic names ascribed to all the personages is so transparent in this cosmogony of Pherecydes, and so little disguises the absolutely Phœnician character of the conceptions, that as it seems to me the original Semitic cosmogony of which this is the translationmay be restored with an almost entire certainty. And this I have attempted to do in the pages that follow:

In the beginning were *Yaḥveh* (He who lives),(1) *Bâhû* (feminine Chaos), and *'Ulôm* (Time).

And *Yaḥveh*, who was breath (*rûaḫ*), made himself into desire (*ḥîpeç*), to operate the creative work in the womb of *Bâhû*.

And *Bâhû* became earth (*ereç*) when *Yaḥveh* had accorded her honor to her, and the sea (*yâm*) was separated from the dry land.

And *'Ulôm* begat the three celestial elements, fire (*êsh*), breath (*rûaḫ*), and water (*mêm*).

Thus were produced the seven orders (*ḫaldîm*)(2) of the universe, and from each of these issued a numerous progeny of gods.

(1) The interpretation of Damascius, "He who lives eternally," (*C*) compels this restoration and appears to prove the reasonableness of Movers' supposition (*Die Phœnizier*, vol. I., p. 545 et seq.), that of Schlottmann (*Das Buch Hiob*, pp. 78 and 134), and that of Œhler (article *Jehova*, in the *Real-Encyclopedie* of Herzog, vol. VI., p. 457 [1st Ed.]), that the Phœnician god whose name was transcribed into Greek Ἰαὼ (Macrob., *Saturn*, I., 18) and Ἰευώ (Sanchoniathon, p. 2, ed. Orelli; extract of Philo of Byblos by Eusebius: *Præparat. evangel.*, I., 9), was really called *Yaḥveh* instead of *Yahveh*. However, this last name, which was that of the god of the Hebrews, and which, formed upon the same type, implies a more spiritualistic conception, was used among the Aramæans at least as well as among the Israelites, as proved by the appellations, known by means of the cuneiform inscriptions, of a king of Ḫamâth sometimes called *Yahu-bîd* and sometimes *Ilu-bîd*, and of a king of Dammeseq named *Yahlu*, a contraction of *Yahu-ilu* (Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* [1st Ed.], p. 3 et seq.).

(2) The word *ḫeled* is well known in the religious philosophy of the Semitic and Kena'anite peoples (Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, vol. I., p. 262 Renan, *Mém. de l' Acad. des Inscriptions*, new series, vol. XXIII., 2d Part, p. 258). Like *'ôlâm*, of which it is the synonym, it signifies at once "time generation," "the world," and "creation, order of creatures." The great god of Gaza was called *Ba'al ḫaldîm*, whence Ζεὺς Ἀλδήμιος in Greek (*Etymol. Magn.*, v. Ἀλδήμιος). This expression it is, to the exclusion of any other, which might and should be translated by the Greek μυχός, and it may be readily understood thus, if we recall the meaning, "hollow out, hide in the depths," with which the root *ḫâlad* is invested in Aramaic.

The ancient Serpent (*Naḥâsh qadmûn* = Ophiôneus), with his spouse, *'Ashthar-No'emâth* (?) (Eurynome), reigned first over the world.

And it was this ancient Serpent who wrote in Phœnician letters the destinies of the universe in the orbits of the planets.

And *Îl* (Cronos) declared war against the Serpent, and they agreed that the one of them who should cast the other into the sea should have the dominion over the heavens and the earth.

And *Îl* vanquished the Serpent, as his spouse, *Ammâ* (Rhea) triumphed over *'Ashthar-No'emâth* (?), and they reigned after their victory.

. . . .

Yaḥveh begat himself, and he resolved himself into the solar *Ba'al* (Zeus).

And *Ba'al* reigned over the universe subsequently to *Îl*.

Ba'al planted a blooming and winged *ashêrâth* in the world, and over its branches he stretched a magnificent veil (*masâk*), whereon the earth, the sea and the heavenly mansions were embroidered.

And this magnificent veil was woven by *Ḥusharth* (Harmonia).

And later *Ba'al* gave this veil to *'Ashtharth-Qarnêm* (?) (Europa), when he united himself with her.

But *Çephûn*, the enemy, the being in the form of a serpent, desired to dethrone *Ba'al* and possess himself of the dominion of the universe, that he might carry trouble and disorder into it.

And he surprised *Ba'al*, enfolded him in his serpents' coils, and tore the sinews (*shôrûn*) of his arms and legs from him.

Ba'al remained stretched out without strength, and as though he were dead.

And he sent his *malâk*, *Qadmûn*, thither where *Çephûn* had his abode, to recover his sinews.

Qadmûn assumed the aspect of a shepherd, and went and played the flute (*abûb*) at the entrance of the grotto which *Çephûn* inhabited.

And the monster came forth, drawn by the music, and he began to talk with *Qadmûn*.

And he told him that he would produce a much sweeter harmony if he could have strings for his *kinnôr*, which *Ba'al* had broken.

And *Çephûn*, deceived by this stratagem, gave him the sinews of *Ba'al*, in order to make strings for his *kinnôr*.

Qadmûn fled instantly, with rapidity, and carried back the sinews to *Ba'al*.

And *Ba'al*, recovering his strength, arose and hurled thunderbolts at *Çephûn* on Mount *Qaçiûn*, in the place which is still called *Ba'al-Çephûn*.

And *Çephûn*, struck down by the thunder, was cast beneath the waters of the sea of reeds (*yâm sûph*).

Then *Ba'al* rewarded *Qadmûn* by giving him *Ḥusharth* for wife.

This restoration is simply a conjecture, and as such I give it; but it does appear to me to possess a certain air of probability.

APPENDIX II.

ANTEDILUVIAN DIVINE REVELATIONS AMONG THE CHALDÆANS.

A. In the beginning, there was at Babylon a multitude of men of a strange race, who had colonized Chaldæa, and they lived without rules, after the manner of animals. But in the first year [of the world], appeared issuing forth from the Erythræan sea, in that portion of it which borders upon Babylonia, an animal gifted with reason, who was called Oannes. This monster had the perfect body of a fish, but above his fish's head a second head which was that of a man, with a man's feet coming out from his tail, and human speech; his image is still preserved. The animal in question passed the whole day among men, taking no nourishment whatsoever, teaching them letters, science and the principles of all the arts, the rules for the foundation of towns, for the construction of temples, for the measure and boundaries of lands, the sowing-times and the harvests, in fine everything that softens manners and constitutes civilization, to such an extent that since that time no one has invented aught else that is new. Then at sunset this monstrous Oannes would retire into the sea, and pass the night in the midst of the great waste of waters, for he was amphibious. Subsequently there appeared still other animals like him, which the author promises to enumerate in the history of the Kings. He adds that Oannes wrote a book on the origin of things, and the rules of civilization, which he bequeathed to men. (Beros. *ap.* Euseb., *Chron. armen.* [I., 2, 2 and 3. Tr.], p. 9, ed. Mai; Syncell., p. 28; fragm. 1, of my edition.)

B. The Assyrians say that among them was born (as first man) Iannes the Ichthyophagus. — (Pindar. *ap.* Origen. *seu* Hippolyt. *Philosophumen.*, V., 7; p. 97, ed. Miller.)

The mythological legend of Chaldæa was handed down to the poet of Thebes through the naïvely euhemeristic stories told by the Greek merchants who traveled through the east. The Ichthyomorphous god is transformed by them into an Ichthyophagous man. It may, however, be proper in this place to correct *ἰχθυοφάγον* to *ἰχθυοφόρον* as proposed by Sathas (*Bulletin de correspondance hellênique*, vol. I., p. 202.)

C. Euahanes, who was said to have issued from the sea in Chaldæa, made known astrological interpretations.—(*Hygin.*, *Fab.*, 274.)

D. He (Helladios of Besa, or Antinoë) relates the fable of a man named Oes, who came out of the Erythræan sea, having the perfect body of a fish, with the head, feet and arms of man, and who taught astronomy and letters. Some said that he had come out of the primordial egg, whence his name, and that he was altogether a man, but resembled a fish, having dressed himself in the skin of a whale.—(Hellad. *ap.* Phot. Biblioth., 279, p. 535, ed. Bekker.)

E. As to myself, having consulted the works of the wise Cheremon, a most worthy man and very learned historian, I found in them that science among the Chaldæans preceded that of the Egyptians, though the first were not the instructors of the second, but that each nation claimed its own founders of learning. The Chaldæans lie when they boast of having been the masters of the Egyptians, and this is the reason why: An extraordinary inundation of the Nile destroyed everything in Egypt, and especially all the books which had been written about astronomy. Then the Egyptians, finding it necessary to know beforehand about eclipses and conjunctions, requested the Chaldæans to communicate to them the documents which contained the laws regulating them. But the latter, in their malice, changed the ciphers of the periods, altering the movements of the planets and fixed stars, contrary to the laws of nature, in the copies with which they furnished them. But subsequently the Egyptians, discovering that they could make no satisfactory use of the documents thus falsified, began to devote themselves to these questions, alone, and having arrived at the true knowledge of matters as they really are, they wrote out their ob-

servations on baked bricks, so that the fire could not consume them, nor the water of the inundations spoil them.

Thus the Egyptians, from being in possession of a false science only, deceived as they had been by the Chaldæans, ended by reaching the goal through their own efforts. The first author of this science among them was the ancient Ninos, after whom the fourteenth was Ioannes, who came from the equatorial zone covered with the skin of a fish, and calling himself the son of Hermes and of Apollo. He possessed himself of the dominion by craft, having threatened them, if they would not give him the crown, with an eclipse of the moon, of the near approach of which he was aware, and which actually came to pass. Long after him reigned Proteus, and after him Rapsinitos, of whom the Egyptian fables relate that he descended alive into Hades, and returned thence after having played at dice with Demeter, and having won from her at this game a golden napkin.—(Michel Psellos, published by Sathas, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, vol. I., p. 129.)

Nothing could be more curious than the way in which the pseudo-Cheremon to whom Psellos accords an absolute faith, transports in this place from Babylonia and Assyria into Egypt the custom of writing on tablets of clay baked in the fire, as well as the personages of Ninos and Cannes. And all this he grafts upon the records of the legendary history of Egypt, drawn from Herodotus. It is impossible to state the precise epoch of the transplantation of the myth of the fish-god, the revealer of Science and Civilization ; but it could only have been done at a very late epoch, by the adepts of sham Egyptian astrology, who set themselves up as rivals of the supporters of sham Chaldæan astrology, and attempted to appropriate to themselves the fable to which the last-named attributed the origin of their false science. Moreover they made the god, in euhemeristic fashion, into a crafty astrologer, who profits by his science to take advantage of the ignorant populace and make himself king, but who subsequently makes use of his power to civilize the people. However, in this sort of caricature of the ancient fable of Chaldæa, there are still left some of the essential traits of its model. This is also apparent in another fragment in which Psellos relates the same history, again according to the pseudo-Cheremon, and still making Egypt the theatre of his action :

F. The Egyptians were ignorant of the first elements of divine things, and forever quarrelling among themselves, for they were distributed in independent demes. Then a man named Oannes,

seeing their ignorance, made them blush at this life of theirs, and reigned over them by a clever stratagem. Having studied the observations and calculation of eclipses, one day knowing that the time had arrived for the sun to be eclipsed, he attired himself in the skin of a fish, and coming to the Egyptians, reported himself to have been sent by his father Hermes. They, seeing his strange aspect, were frightened, and he said to them: "I come to you as a messenger of the divine anger, for the divinity is displeased because you are not settled under the authority of a prince. If you do not alter your conduct, and if you do not establish a King over you, the great luminary of day will be darkened for you." They, not believing him, loaded the man with chains, with the intention of making him King should the menace of the divine anger be carried out, and of putting him to death should his announcement not be realized. The moon soon after coming before the sun and intercepting its rays, they instantly unbound Oannes, and besought him to appease the divinity on their behalf. He, feigning that he would bring about a prodigy, allowed himself to be persuaded, closed his lips like one possessed, and murmured something between his teeth, and thus gained his reward by causing the moon to be carried past the sun, leaving its disk free. This man it was who made them adore the stars, the celestial world, and certain solar and lunar powers which he imagined.—(Quoted by Sathas, *Bulletin de correspondance hellênique*, vol. I., p. 201.)

See again the last quotation from Psellos, made in the same place by Sathas, after the Greek manuscript, 1182 of the National Library, fol. 300.

These extracts show us that the myth of Oannes as "Êa the Fish," (*Êa Khan* in Accadian) the instructor of men, the authentic form of which is preserved in the fragments of Berossus, finally reappeared among the astrologers of the decadence and the Byzantine writers. Unfortunately we do not possess as yet the Chaldæo-Assyrian original of this history. Sayce (*Records of the past*, vol. XI, p. 155; *Babylonian literature*, p. 25) has, as I think, correctly conjectured that a fragment of the popular song contained in *Cuneif. Inscrip. of Western Asia*, vol. II., pl. 16., l. 58–71, *a–b*, in the midst of a collection of others of the same nature, refers to the return of Oannes each evening to the waters of the Persian Gulf.

In fact, it begins with these words:

Ana	*me*	*ilušunu*	*ituru*
To	the waters	their god	they have led back;
ana	*bit*	*nadî*	*iterub*
into	the abode	of (his) residence	he has entered.

After this, it refers to the mysterious wisdom (*nimequ*) of this god and of his teachings. But, short as it is, this text, with its double version, Accadian and Assyrian, is still very obscure.

We will now pass on to the extracts of Berossus, which enumerate the theophanies of personages similar to the first Oannes, issuing like him from the Erythræan Sea in the time of the different antediluvian kings, in order to complete and explain his revelations:

G. He (Berossus) enumerates the kings of the Assyrians one after another in order, counting ten after Alôros (correct: Adôros), the first king, as far as Xisuthros, in whose time the great, first deluge came to pass, of which Moses also makes mention. He says that the entire length of time during which these kings governed was 120 sars, or 432,000 years. Then he says, in his own words: "After the death of Alôros (Adôros), his son Alaparus reigned three sars. After Alaparos, Almelon, a Chaldæan of the city of Pantibibla, thirteen sars. To Almelon succeeded Ammenon, likewise from Pantibibla for twelve sars. In his time a monster named Idotion issued again from the Erythræan sea with a form which was a mingling of man and fish. After him, Amegalaros of Pantibibla reigned eighteen sars. Afterward the shepherd Davônos, still of Pantibibla, occupied the throne for ten sars. During his reign, there again issued forth from the Erythræan sea four monsters likewise having the form of a man-fish. Later there reigned Edôranchos of Pantibibla during a period of eighteen sars. And under him appeared once more, emerging from the Erythræan sea, another being, a union of man and fish, called Ôdacon. And he says that all these monstrous personages explained in detail that which Oannes had taught briefly.—(Berossus, *ap.* Eusebius, *Chron. Armen.* [I., 1], p. 5, ed. Mai, Fragment 9 of my edition.)

H. Berossus testifies that the first king was Alôros (correct to Adôros) of Babylon, a Chaldæan. He reigned ten sars, and his successors were Alaparos and Amelon of Pantibibla, than Ammenon the Chaldæan, in whose time it was related that Mysaros Oannes

(*Êa mušaru*), Annêdotos, appeared, issuing from the Erythræan Sea; he is the same whom Alexander (Polyhistor), anticipating the epoch predicated, speaks of as having manifested himself in the first year of the world, while Apollodorus says that the second Annedôtus showed himself after forty sars, and Abydenus at the end of twenty-six sars. Afterwards, Megalaros, of the city of Pantibibla, reigned eighteen sars, and his successor, the shepherd Daônos of Pantibibla, ten sars. Under the last named, there again appeared issuing from the Erythræan sea a fourth Annôdotos with the same sort of figure as the others, a combination of man and fish. Next came Evedôrachos of Pantibibla, who reigned eighteen sars, and during whose life a fourth (?) being, uniting the two natures of man and fish, and called Ôdacon, appeared on the shores of the Erythræan sea. All these beings explained in detail and chapter by chapter the things that Oannes had revealed in brief. Abydenus does not mention the last named.—(Beros. *ap.* Syncell., p. 39; Fragment 10 of my edition.)

I. Extract from Abydenus upon the dominion of the Chaldæans. Here is sufficient evidence of the wisdom of the Chaldæans. They say that the first King of this country was Alôros (corr. Adôros), and tradition relates that he was chosen shepherd of the people by the divinity himself: his reign lasted sixteen sars. Now, the sar contains 3600 years, the ner 600 and the soss 60. After him Alaparos governed for a period of three sars, then Amillaros of the city of Pantibibla for thirteen sars. It was during his reign that the second Annêdotos, a demi-god, resembling Oannes in figure, appeared, issuing from the sea. Afterwards came Ammenon of Pantibibla who reigned twelve sars, then Megalaros of Pantibibla who reigned eighteen sars. The following reign was that of Daôs, shepherd of Pantibibla, and lasted ten sars; then it was that there came from the sea to the land four beings of double nature whose names are, Eneudôtos, Eneugamos, Eneubulos, and Anêmentos. Afterwards under the succeeding monarch Evedôreschos, there appeared Anôdaphos. After the last prince whom we have mentioned several others reigned, and finally Sisuthros, so that there may be counted ten Kings in all, and the duration of their power amounts altogether to 120 sars.—(Syncell., p. 38; Euseb., *Chron. Armen.* [I., 6], p. 22, ed. Mai; Fragment 11 of my edition of Berossus.)

The very confused and at first sight wholly contradictory indi-

cations which these fragments furnish in regard to the date of the appearance of the revelation-bearing theophanies, which were supposed to have been produced subsequent to the primordial apparition of Oannes, may be summarized in a synoptical table after the following fashion:

Reigns.	*Fragment G.*	*Fragment H.*	*Fragment I.*
Adôros........10 sars.			
Alaparos......13 sars			
Almelon, or Amillaros 13 sars.	Idotion	Annêdotos, at the end of 26 sars (according to Abydenus), that is, in the last sar of the reign.	Annêdotos.
Ammenon...12 sars.			
Amegalaros.18 sars.		Annêdotos, at the end of 40 sars (according to Apollodorus), or in the 2d sar of the reign.	
Daônos.......10 sars.	Four men fish.	Fourth Annêdotos	Four men fish.
Edôranchos.18 sars.	Ôdacon.	Ôdacon.	Ôdacon.

It strikes me that the summary under this form gives us a clearer insight into the confused style of the extracts made from Berossus, and enables us to restore with almost absolute certainty the contents of his original text:

1st. The primordial apparition of Oannes, "in the first year," coincided certainly with the accession of Adôros. It would appear to follow from the expressions of *I* that it was the god himself who installed him King, and this circumstance somewhat altered would have given rise to the little story of *E* and *F*.

2d. The mention of the four men-fish who came under Daonos, in *G* and *I*, is fortunately replaced in *H* by that of the fourth Annêdotos who then appeared. It must hence be concluded that there had been three other theophanies similar to, but later than that of Oannes under these preceding reigns.

3d. In *I*, Annêdotos, appearing under Amillaros, is not included in the list of these four fantastic personages; the same may be said of the Idotion, who corresponds to him in *G*.

These observations show that between Oannes and Ôdacon, or between the reigns of Adôros and Edôranchos, Berossus must have

reckoned as many appearances of men-fish, who were revealers and legislators, as of kings, so that it necessarily follows that one belongs to each reign.

We may now remark that all the kings, to whose reigns are referred the supernatural revelations of the sacred books, are said to be natives of Pantibibla, or "the town of all the books." The same is true of Daônos, in whose time is placed the last revealer, Ôdacon. After him the revelations cease, and the kings no longer proceed from Pantibibla, but from that town called in the fragments of Berossus as we have them, Larancha or Lanchara, its true name being made known to us through the tablet of the Deluge under its original form of Shurippak.

In regard to the restoration of the names, evidently very much changed, given to the different theophanies, the significance of which we have just studied, see some conjectures, which still require careful verification and examination, in Fr. Lenormant, *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, p. 377 et seq.

APPENDIX III.

CLASSIC TEXTS ON THE ASTRONOMICAL SYSTEM OF THE CHALDÆANS.

A. THE Chaldæans say that the nature of the world (matter) is eternal, that it had no beginning, and will never have an end. According to their philosophy, the order of the universe, the arrangement of nature are due to a divine providence; nothing which is created in heaven is the result of chance; everything comes to pass through the changeless and sovereign will of the gods. Having observed the stars for a vast number of years, they are more exactly acquainted than any other men with their course and influences, and predict with certainty many events in the future. The doctrine, which according to them is most important, concerns the motions of the five stars, that we call planets, and they name interpreters. Among these stars they look upon as most significant the one which supplies the most numerous and important auguries, and that is the planet designated by the Greeks as Cronos, which for that reason they call Helios (Sun). (1)

As to the others, they, as well as our astrologers, give them the names of Mars, Venus, Mercury, and Jupiter. The Chaldæans call them interpreters, because the planets being alone endowed with a determinate proper motion, as is not the case with the other stars, which are fixed and subjected to a regular and common march, interpret the benevolent designs of the gods to

(1) This is the true reading, though it may seem a strange one at first sight. Simplicius (*De Cœlo*, II., p. 499) and Hygin. (*Poet. Astron.*, II., 42), give the same rendering (see Th. H. Martin, *Theonis Smyrnæi Platonici liber de astronomia*, p. 88). The planet Saturn is also called in the summary of Eudoxus' astronomy contained in a Greek papyrus of the Louvre, ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀστήρ (*Notices et extraits de manuscrits*, vol. XVIII., [2d Part] p. 54). It is also called there φαίνων, a name which may refer to its augural importance.

men. For skilled observers know, so they say, how to obtain presages from the rising, setting, and color of these orbs; they likewise announce violent winds, rains, and excessive heat. The appearance of comets, eclipses of the sun and moon, earthquakes, in fine all the changes which come about in the atmosphere are so many signs of fortune or misfortune for countries and nations, as well as for kings and private individuals.

Beneath (corr. above) the course of the five planets, continue the Chaldæans, are placed thirty [six] stars, called "counsellor gods." Half of these gods dwell above, the other half below the earth, in order to watch over human things and things celestial. And every ten days one of them is sent in the capacity of a messenger from the upper to the lower region; another passes from this to that by an invariable exchange. Besides, there are twelve "lords of the gods," each one of whom presides over one month and one sign of the Zodiac. The sun, the moon, and the five planets pass through these signs, the sun accomplishing his revolution in the space of a year, and the moon hers in the space of a month.

Each planet has its proper course, and they differ one from another in swiftness and the time of their revolutions. These orbs greatly influence the birth of men, and decide their good or evil destiny; therefore it is that observers read the future in them. Thus, they say, have they made predictions to a great number of kings, among others to the conqueror of Darios, Alexander, and to the kings Antigone and Seleucos Nicator, predictions which appear to have been all fulfilled, and of which we shall speak in their time and place. They also predict to private individuals things which are to happen to them, and that with such precision that they who have tested them are struck with admiration, and regard the science of these astrologers as something divine.

Outside the zodiacal circle, they distinguish twenty-four stars, half of them in the boreal and half in the austral portion of the heavens; (1) the ones that can be seen are set over the living,

(1) The twelve stars or constellations thus selected in the boreal hemisphere, in order to serve as points of departure for the division of the sphere, are astronomically the paranatellons of the signs, that is the stars which rise above the horizon simultaneously with each sign, so that the sphere was by that means divided into twelve segments cutting the zodiac obliquely and enclosing the paranatellons of each sign. The Babylonian division of the nycthemer into twelve hours instead of twenty-four is connected with this mode of dividing the sphere.

while the ones that cannot be seen are assigned to the dead; and they call these stars "judges of the universe."

The moon moves, add the Chaldæans, below all the other stars; she is nearest the earth, by reason of her weight; she executes her revolution in the shortest period of time, not on account of the swiftness of her motion, but because the circle which she describes is very small. Her light is borrowed, and her eclipses are occasioned by the shadow of the earth, as the Greeks likewise teach. As to the eclipses of the sun, they are able to give only very unsatisfactory and vague explanations of them; they dare neither to predict them, nor to determine their epochs.

They hold opinions peculiar to themselves in reference to the figure of the earth; they aver that it is hollow, and boat-shaped,(1) and they give numerous and plausible proofs of this, as in regard to all that they say about the universe. We should lengthen out our subject too much by entering into all these details; it will suffice to be convinced that the Chaldæans are versed in astrology beyond any other people, and that they have cultivated this science with especial care. However it is difficult to accept the number of years during which the college of the Chaldæans are said to have taught the science of the universe; for beginning with their first observations, and ending with the coming of Alexander they reckon no less than four hundred and seventy-three thousand years.—(Diod. Sic., II., 30 and 31.)

B. The Chaldæans appear to have brought the astronomical and genealogical art to greater perfection than any other people. By connecting terrestrial with celestial things, and heaven with the lower world, they have shown in this mutual sympathy of the parts of the universe, separated as to places, but not in themselves, the harmony which unites them by a kind of musical accord. They have conjectured that the world which comes under the observation of the senses, is God either in itself, or at least by virtue

(1) The hollow referred to here is underneath the earth which the Chaldæans thus compared to a bark upside down, but the bark in question would not be shaped like any that we are in the habit of calling by that name. The comparison is undoubtedly made with one of the perfectly round skiffs which it is still customary to use under the name of kufa, in the latitudes of the lower Euphrates and Tigris, and the representation of which we find upon the historic sculptures of the Assyrian palaces. We would explain such a shape to-day by comparing it with a bowl turned upside down.

of the universal soul which vivifies it; and in consecrating this soul under the name of *destiny or necessity*, they have blighted human life with a veritable atheism, for they have set forth the belief that phenomena have none other but visible causes, and that the good and evil of each individual depends upon the sun, the moon, and the course of the stars.—(Phil., *De Migrat. Abrahami*, 32.)

C. The Chaldæans, having made a specialty of the study of astronomy, and referring everything to the movements of the stars, by which they believe that all things in the universe are governed, by the internal power of numbers and the connection of numbers among themselves, have glorified the visible essence, forgetting that which is invisible, but intelligible. And after having studied the laws of the order of visible things, the revolutions of the sun, of the moon, of the planets, and of the fixed stars, the changes of the seasons, of the years, and the close sympathy which unites things celestial with things terrestrial, they have come to believe that the world is God, confounding, in their error, the creator with the creature.—(Phil., *De Abrahamo*, 15.)

See what the same writer says furthermore upon the same subject: *Quis rer. divin. heres sit.* 20.

D. The Chaldæans, having observed the heaven more attentively than other men, came at last to see the reason of the determining causes of that which comes to pass in our midst, and to believe that the twelve parts of the zodiac of fixed stars have a great part in it. And they divide each sign into thirty degrees, and each degree into sixty minutes, for thus it is that they call the least divisions which they do not divide again. They call a portion of the signs masculine, the others feminine. They distribute them likewise into signs with double bodies (δίσωμα) and signs without, into tropic and non-tropic signs. The masculine and feminine signs are thus named in reference to their connection with the birth of male children. The ram is masculine, and the bull feminine, and all the others follow alternating. It is, I believe, in imitation of this that the Pythagoreans call the monad masculine, the dyad feminine, and the triad, again, masculine, defining subsequently, according to the same rule, the nature of all numbers, odd and even. Some persons dividing each sign into dodecatemories, arrive almost at the same conclusion, for they make the Ram masculine, the Bull masculine and feminine, the

sign of the Twins masculine again, thus alternating two by two the other signs. They call those signs which are exactly opposite each other at the two extremities of a diameter of the circle, like the Archer [and Gemini], the Virgin and the Fishes, double-bodied (*δίσωμα*); and the signs lose this name in respect to those with which they are not in the same relative position. As to the tropic signs, they are those in which the sun, when reaching them, works the great changes of his course. These are the Ram, masculine sign, and its diametrically opposite one, the Balances, the nature of which is similar, as also those of the two other tropic signs, Capricorn and Cancer. For the tropic position of the Spring Equinox is in the Ram, while that of the Winter Solstice is in Capricorn, that of the Summer Solstice in Cancer, and that of the Autumnal Equinox in the Balances. (Origin. *seu* Hippolyt. *Philosophumen.*, V., 13; p. 125 et seq. ed. Miller.

APPENDIX IV.

TABLES OF THE CHALDÆO-ASSYRIAN CALENDAR AND OF THE OTHER SEMITIC CALENDARS.

THE Tables grouped in this Appendix are six in number, and refer chiefly to chapters iv. and vi. of this work. They contain besides, a series of records of the history of Semitic Calendars, which have nowhere else been so completely brought together.

The first table gives the list of the months of the Assyro-Babylonian year, excepting the epochs of intercalation, with their Assyro-Semitic names, their more or less perfect Accadian designations, which subsequently supplied their ideographic notation in texts in the Semitic language, the signs to which they corresponded in the zodiac, the indication of their protecting deities, and lastly, the cosmogonic myths referred to each one of them, at least, so far as it has been possible to restore them, for we are not absolutely certain of them in the case of more than five months out of the twelve.

In the second table, the Assyrian nomenclature of the month is made parallel with the variations of the same nomenclature among the different Semitic peoples who adopted it, the Jews after the Captivity, the Samaritans, and the Aramæans; to which we have added the indication of the correspondence, dating from the reign of Seleucos Nicator, established between the months of the Macedonian year, imported by the Greek conquerors, and those of the Syrian Calendar.

The third table shows the agreement existing in the beginning between the Arab months and those of the Syrian Calendar, an agreement which their significant names in Arabic show, since they refer to the phases of the seasons of a year beginning with the Autumnal Equinox. This agreement was, however, very early disturbed, and the names of the Arab months, for the greater part of the time, no longer corresponded to the season

FIFTH TABLE.

LATER NOMENCLATURE.	PRIMITIVE NOMENCLATURE.		
	HEBREWS.	PHŒNICIANS.	ASSYRIANS.
1. *Nîsân*	*Âbîb.*		
2. *Iyâr.*	*Zîv.*		
3. *Sîvân.*			*Kuzalla.*
4. *Tammûz.*			
5. *Âb.*			
6. *Elûl.*			
7. *Tišrî.*	*Êthânîm.*		
8. *Marḫešvân.*	*Bûl.*	*Bûl.*	
9. *Kislêv.*			
10. *Ṭêbêth.*			*Tamḫiri.*
11. *Šebaṭ*			
12. *Adar.*			
Names which occur at a still undetermined season of the year.		*Marphê* or *Marphêm* (1). *Pa'*. . . .	*Muḫur ilâni.*

(1) Both these forms are found, one singular the other plural, in the Phœnician inscriptions.

SIXTH TABLE.

CORRESPONDING MONTHS.	SEASONS.		
	HEBREWS.	ASSYRIANS.	ARABS.
1. *Nîsân.* 2. *Îyâr.*	*Qâçîr.*	*Eburu.*	*Rabŷ'-el-awwal.*
3. *Sivân.* 4. *Tammûz.*	*Qaîç.*	*Çip.*	*Çaîf.*
5. *Âb.* 6. *Elûl.*	*Ḫôm.*	*Ḫammu.*	*Qaîd.*
7. *Tišrî.* 8. *Marḫešvân.*	*Zerâ'.*	*Zarû.*	*Rabŷ'-el-tsâny.*
9. *Kislêv.* 10. *Ṭêbêth.*	*Ḫôreph.*	*Ḫarpu.*	*Kharîf.*
11. *Šebâṭ.* 12. *Adar.*	*Qôr.*		*Šitâ.*

in which these months actually fell. In fact, the Arabs have never been able to use anything but a vague lunar year of 354 days, without a cycle of intercalation for the correction of its inexactitude, in such wise that its months passed in succession through all the epochs of the Solar year, so that at the end of seventeen years the summer months fell in wintər, and *vice-versa.* The Syrians, on the other hand, from the time of the establishment of the rule of the Seleucides, and of the era which bears the name of these kings, corrected the irregularity of their lunar year by means of Callippus' cycle of intercalation, and subsequently, at the accession of the Roman Empire, transformed it into the Julian solar year, retaining the ancient names of their months, but modifying the number of days hitherto attributed to each of them. We have taken as basis of this table the important memoirs of Mahmoud Effendi, (*Sur le calendrier arabe avant l' islamisme*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 5th series, vol. XI., [Jan.-June, 1858], p. 109-192), and of Sprenger (*Ueber den Kalender der Araber vor Moḥammad*, in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlændischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XIII., pp. 134-165).

Side by side with these names of the months, used before the time of Moḥammed, as we have succeeded in restoring them, we have placed the modifications of these names, as established by the Prophet, after he had decided that the ḥadj of Mecca should henceforth take place in a vague month, always the same, whatever the season in which it might fall, instead of having, as before, a fixed epoch in the seasons of the solar year, which, consequently never had the same monthly date in the displacement of the lunar year.

The nomenclature thus modified by the Prophet for the appellations of three of the months, had, it is said, been established about two centuries before Moḥammed, during the time of Kelâb-ben-Morrah. We add to our table the instructions furnished by various Arab writers upon the nomenclatures more anciently used, which seem to have varied according to place, and also according to time. That most widely spread appears to have been the one which Albirouny and the lexicographers give us. It offers, moreover, a certain number of variations in itself, interesting inasmuch as they refer to the displacement of the vague lunar year in the seasons of the solar year. Thus we find the name ‘âdel or ‘âdzel applied sometimes to the eighth, sometimes to the ninth, and sometimes to the tenth month, and this necessarily came about when one or the

other of these months coincided with the Spring Equinox, plainly designated by the signification of the name.

We have drawn much of the material of our fourth table from Th. Benfey and Moritz Stern's admirable dissertation, *Ueber die Monatsnamen einiger alter Vœlker, insbesondere der Perser, Cappadocier, Juder und Syrer* (Berlin, 1836), although the theory developed in this dissertation, of the Persian origin of the names of Jewish and Aramaic months, is henceforth untenable, as well as the system of a supposed primitive agreement between the Persian Calendar, and the Aramaic, artificially invented to justify this etymological origin. By way of a concordance between the Iranian and Semitic year, we have followed that given by the Calendar at present in use among the Parsees, which undoubtedly has always been the same. To this we have added the list of the months of the civil year of the Achæmenidæ, corresponding exactly, under different names, to the Babylonian year, as we now know it through the Persian Cuneiform inscriptions, especially through that of Behistun.

We have included in the same table the names of the Cappadocian months, known through those Persian hemerologies the original Persian forms of which have been admirably restored by Benfey.

The fifth table gathers together the rare traces which we have of one or two Semitic nomenclatures of the months, different from those the use of which finally became general in the basin of the Tigris and the Euphrates, in Syria and Palestine, and certainly older than they. These traces have been gathered from among the Hebrews before the Captivity, among the Phœnicians, and among the Assyrians. We have pointed out those terms of this nomenclature, the correspondence of which with early names is known, and also such as to which it is yet unknown.

The last table of all, the sixth, is devoted to the explanation of the ancient Semitic system of the division of the year into six seasons of two months each, as found among the Hebrews at a very remote epoch (*Gen.* viii., 22), and among the ante-Islamic Arabs, some vestiges even having been observed among the Assyrians.

APPENDIX V.

THE CHALDÆAN ACCOUNT OF THE DELUGE; TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TEXT WITH INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION.

Column 1.

8. *Ḫasisatra ana šašu va izakkara ana Izṭubar*
Ḫasisatra after that also said to Izdhubar (?):

9. *lupteka Izṭubar amat*
Let me reveal to thee O Izdhubar (?) the narrative
niçirti
of my preservation,

10. *u piriçti ša ilani kâša luqbika*
and the decision of the gods to thee let me tell!

11. *alu Šurippak alu ša tidušu*
The city of Shurippak city that thou knowest it
ana Buratti (1) *šaknu*
on the Euphrates exists,

12. *alu šû labir va . . . . ilani qirbušu*
city this is old and . . . . the gods in it

13. . . . . *ardušunu ilani rabuti*
. . . . their servant of the gods great.

14. . . . . *Anuv*
. . . . Anu,

15. . . . . *Beluv*
. . . . Bel,

16. . . . . *NIN.IB*
. . . . Sandan

17. *u* [*Êa*] *belu la nakru*
and Êa lord unchangeable

(1) Completed according to the new fragment recently brought to the British Museum by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam.

18. *amatsunu yušannâ ana qi[rib šut]ti va*
their command repeated in a dream and

19. *ana]ku šimtuššu* (1) *šime va iqab[bi yâši*
I his decree hearing and he said to me:

20. *Šurippakitû mar Ubaratutu*
"Man of Shurippak, son of Ubaratutu,

21. *at]ta bini elippa uḫḫarša . . . . .*
thou build a vessel, complete it . . . .

22. . . . . . *apkura zir u napišti*
. . . . . I will destroy the seed and the life.

23. *šuliva zir napšâti kalama*
Cause also to enter the seed of lives of all species
ana libbi elippi
into the interior of the vessel.

24. *elippu ša tabannuši atta*
The vessel that thou shalt build it, thou,

25. *neru ammat nišduda minatuša*
six hundred cubits in length its measure,

26. *šušu ammat mitḫar rubušša u mušalša*
sixty cubits the rising of its breadth and its height.

27. . . . . . *va apsî šâši çullilši*
. . . . . also on the ocean this, cover it with a roof."

28. *anaku idi va azakkara ana Êa beliya*
I, I understood and I said to Êa my lord:

29. *elippu] bini ša taqbâ*
"the vessel to build which thou commandest,
atta kiâm
thou, thus,

30. . . . . *anaku ibbuš*
. . . . I, I will make

31. . . . . . . *abli ummanu u* [*šibutuv*
. . . . . the sons of the army (2) and the old men."

32. [*Êa pâšu ibuš va i]qabbi izakkara*
Êa his mouth made and he spoke, he said
ana ardašu yâtav
to his servant myself:

(1) The new fragment presents here, instead of this reading, *ana]ku ik-ku*. . . . .

(2) That is, the young men in the strength of their years, at the age to carry arms.

33. . . . . *taqabbaššunutu*
. . . . thou shalt say to them,

34. . . . . . *ša* *iziranni* *va*
. . . . . who has abused me and

35. . . . . . *lû* . . . *iššakan* *eliya*
. . . . surely . . exists over me.

36. . . . . *kima* *kippati* . . . .
. . . . like caverns (?) . . . .

37. . . . . . *ludan* *eliš* *u* *ˇsapliš* . . . .
. . . . . I wish to judge above and below . . . .

38. . . . *e* *piḫi* *elippa* . . . .
. . . . close the vessel . . . .

39. . . . . *adanna* *ša* *ašapparakkuvva*
. . . . at the stated time that I will also make known [to thee,

40. *qiribša* *eruvva* *bab* *elippi* *tirra*
within it enter and the door of the vessel bring back.

41. *ana* *libbiša* *ŠE.BARka* *ŠA.ŠUka* *ŠA.GAka*
To its interior thy grain, thy furniture, thy provisions,

42. *kaspa]ka* *qinâtka* *amâtika* *u* *abli*
thy money, thy slaves, thy maid-servants and the sons
umma[ni
of the army,

43. *pul]* *çeri* *umam* *çeri*
the cattle of the plains, the wild beasts of the plains.
mala *ušimmir* *va*
all those which I will gather and

44. *ašap]parukkuva* *inaççaru* *babka*
I will also send thee, will guard thy door."

45. *At]raḫasis* *pâšu* *ibuš* *va* *iqab[bi*
Ḫasisatra [1] his mouth made and spoke,

46. *izak]kar* *ana* *Êa* *beli[šu*
he said to Êa his lord:

47. *la* *manmâ* *elippa* *ul* *ebuš* . . . . .
"No one a vessel not has made . . . .

48. *ina* *qaq]qari* *eçir* *u* . . . .
On the keel I will fix . . . .

49. . . . . . *tu lumur* *va* *elippa* . . . . .
. . . . that I may see and the vessel . . . .

(1) The name is here spelled backward.

50. . . . . . . *a* *ina* *qaqqari* *elippu* . . . . . .
. . . . on the keel the vessel . . . . . .

51. *elippu* *bini* *ša* *taqbâ*
the vessel to construct it which thou hast commanded,
[*atta* *kiâm,*
thou, thus,

52. *ša* *ina* . . . .
which in . . . ."

Column 2.

1. *dannu* . . . . .
Strong . . . . .

2. *ina* *ḫanši* *yume* . . . . *naša*
on the fifth day . . . . they rose.

3. *ina* *ganḫisa* *XIV* *ina* *menuti* *eçini* *çirutišu*
In its covering fourteen in all its rafters,

4. *XIV* *ina* *menuti* *imtaḫir* . . . . . *eliša*
fourteen in all it counted . . . . above it.

5. *addi* *lanši* *šâši* . . . . *eçirši*
I placed its roof, it . . . . I covered it.

6. *urtakkibši* *ana* *šišu* *aptaraç* *suqutsu*
I set sail in it on the sixth, I divided its stories
ana *sibušu*
on the seventh;

7. *qirbitsu* *aptaraç* *ana* *šumanišu*
its interior I divided on the eighth;

8. *šikkati* *me* *qabliša* *lu*
the gaps of the waters of its interior surely
amqut
I intercepted;

9. *amur* *pariçu* *u* *ḫišuḫti* *addi*
I saw the fissures and the things lacking I placed.

10. *šalšati* *šari* *kupri* *attabak* *ana* *kîri*
Three sars of bitumen I poured on the exterior,

11. *šalšati* *šari* *kupri* *attabak* *ana* *libbi*
three sars of bitumen I poured on the interior.

12. *šalšati* *šari* *çabi* *naš* *sussul* *ša*
Three sars of men porters of baskets who
izabbilu *piššati*
carried on their heads the chests.

13. *esur šar piššati ša ikuluni iqqu*
I kept a sar of chests for the eating of the family,
14. *šane šari piššati yupazziru*
two sars of chests divided among themselves
malaḫi
the sailors.
15. *ana . . . . uṭṭibbiḫ alpi*
For . . . . I caused to be immolated oxen,
16. *aš[takkan] . . . . . yumišamma*
I instituted . . . . . for each day;
17. *ina . . . . [kurun]nu piššati u karanu*
in . . . . of drink, casks and wine
18. . . . . *kima me nâri va*
like the waters of a river and
19. . . . . . *kima UT.MI.A irçitiv va*
like the dust of the earth and
20. . . . . . *piššati qati addi*
the chests my hand I carried.
21. . . . . . *Šamši ra . . . . bê elippu*
. . . . . of the Sun . . . . the vessel
gamrat
was finished.
22. . . . . . *rušuqu va*
. . . . . strong and
23. *GI.IR.MÂ.KAK.MES uštabbalu eliš u*
the rigging of the vessel I had brought on above and
šapliš
below.
24. . . . . *il]liku šinipatsu*
. . . . they reached to its two-thirds.
25. *nin išû eçinši nin išû*
All that I had I collected it; all that I possessed
eçinši kaspa
I collected it in silver,
26. *nin išu eçinši ḫuraça*
all that I possessed I collected it in gold,
27. *nin išû eçinši zir napšâti*
all that I possessed I collected it (in) seed of lives
kalama
of all species.

28. *ušteli* *ana* *elippi* *kala* *qinatiya*
I caused to ascend into the vessel all my slaves
u *amatiya*
and my maid-servants

29. *pul* *çeri* *amam* *çeri*
the cattle of the plains, the wild beasts of the plains,
abli *ummani* *kališunu* *ušeli*
the sons of the army all of them I caused to ascend.

30. *adannu* *Šamšu* *iškunavva*
The fixed time the Sun made and

31. *yuzakkir* *kukkuru* *ina* *lilati*
he announced proclaiming: "In the evening
ušaznana *šamutam* *kibâti*
I will cause to rain from the sky heavily;

32. *erub* *ana libbi* *elippi* *va* *piḫi* *babaka*
enter into the vessel and shut thy door."

33. *adannu* *šû* *ikrida*
The fixed time this arrived,

34. *yuzakkir* *kukkuru* *ina* *lilati*
he had announced proclaiming: "In the evening
ušaznana *šamutam* *kibâti*
I will make it rain from the sky heavily."

35. *ša* *yumi* *attari* *punašu*
Of the day I reached its evening.

36. *yumu* *ana* *itaplusi* *puluḫta* *iši*
the day for to hold oneself on guard, fear I had;

37. *erub* *ana libbi* *elippi* *va* *apteḫe* *bâbi*
I entered within the vessel and I shut my door.

38. *ana* *piḫe* *elippi* *ana* *Buzur-šadi-rabi*
At the closing of the vessel to Buzur-shadi-rabi
malaḫu
the pilot

39. *ekalla* *attadin* *adi* *bušêšu*
the abode I gave over with its beings.

40. *Mû-šeri-ina-namari*
Mu-sheri-ina-namari

41. *ilamma* *ištu* *išid* *šame* *urpatuv*
arose from the foundations of the sky, cloud
çalimtuv
black.

42. *Rammanu* *ina* *libbiša* *irtammavva*
Rammanu in the midst of it thundered and
43. *Nabû* *u* *Šarru* *illaku* *ina* *maḫri*
Nabu and Shar marched in front
44. *illaku* *guzali* *šadû* *u*
they marched overwhelming the mountain and
mâtuv
the plain.
45. *nukulli* *Nergalu* *dannu* *inassiḫ*
The punishments Nergal the powerful drew after him;
46. *illâk* *NIN.IB* *miḫri* *yušardi*
came Sandan before he overthrew.
47. *Annunaki* *iššû* *diparâti*
The Archangels of the earth carried destructions,
48. *ina* *namriri šunu* *iḫammaṭu* *mâtuv*
in their terrors they troubled the surface of the earth;
49. *ša* *Rammani* *šumurrassu* *iba'u* *šame*
of Ramman his inundation swelled up to the sky
50. *la* *namru* *ana* *[çeri* *qaqqaru]* *utturru*
without noise into desert the soil was changed.

Column 3.

1\. . . . *iz* *mâti* *kima* . . . . .
. . . . from the surface of the earth as . . . . .
iḫ[pu
they broke,
2\. *šik]nat* *napišti* *[ultu]* *pan* *mâti* *a* . . . .
the beings living from the face of the earth . . . . . .
3\. . . . . *daḫli* *eli* *niši* *yuba'u* *šame*
. . . . terrible over men it swelled up to heaven.
4\. *ul* *immar* *aḫu* *aḫašu* *ul* *yutaddâ*
Not saw the brother his brother, not recognized each [other
niši *ina* *šame*
men. In heaven
5\. *ilani* *iptalḫu* *abubavva*
the gods feared the waterspout and
6\. *itteḫsu* *itelû* *ana* *šame* *ša*
sought a refuge; they ascended to the heaven of
Aniv
Anu.

7. *ilani kima kalbi kunnunu ina kamâti*
The gods like dogs were motionless in a heap
rabçu
they were laid.

8. *išissi Ištar kima alidti*
Spoke Ishtar like a child.

9. *yunambi ilatu rabitu dabatsivva*
Pronounced the goddess great her discourse also:

10. *mulmullû ana tiṭṭi lû itur va*
"Mankind to slime surely has returned and

1. *ša anaku ina maḫar ilani*
that which myself in presence of the gods
aqbû limutta
I have announced the misfortune.

12. *kî aqbi ina maḫar ilani*
As I have announced in the presence of the gods
limutta
the misfortune,

13. *ana limni . . . . uk nišiya daḫla*
at the evil . . . . of my men terrible
aqbi va
I have announced also,

14. *anaku umma ullada nišûai va*
myself mother I have brought forth my man and

15. *kî mari nuni yumallâ tamtavva*
like the young of fishes they fill the sea and

16. *ilani šupar Anunnaki*
the gods because of the Archangels of the earth
bakû ittiya
are weeping with me."

17. *ilani ina šubti ašbi ina bikiti*
The gods on the seats were seated in tears;

18. *katma šaptašunu . . abu aḫreti*
were covered their lips . . . . . future things.

19. *šišati urra u mušâti*
six days and nights

20. *illak šâru abubu meḫû*
passed, the wind, the waterspout, the deluge of rain
isappanu
prevailed.

21. *sibû yumu ina kašâdi zunnu*
The seventh day at the approach the rain
iktašal abubu daḫla
ceased, the waterspout terrible

22. *ša imtaḫçu kima ḫaialti*
which had assailed like an earthquake

23. *inuḫ tamtu yušḫarir va šârû*
was appeased; the sea began to dry and the wind
u abubu ikla
and the waterspout came to an end.

24. *appalsa tamata šakin qulu*
I looked at the sea paying attention,

25. *u kullat teniševi itura ana tiṭṭi*
and the whole of mankind had returned to slime;

26. *kima uribe pagrat yušallu*
like seaweed the corpses floated.

27. *apte nappašavva urru imtaḫaç eli*
I opened the window and the light struck on
dur appiya
my face.

28. *uktammis va attašab*
I was overcome with sadness and I seated myself,
abakki
I wept;

29. *eli dur appiya illaka dimâi*
on my face came my tears.

30. *appalis kiprâti patu tamti*
I looked at the regions bounded by the sea;

31. *ana šanešrit ina menuti ite la*
toward the twelve in all points of the horizon no
nagû
continent.

32. *ana mat Nizir itemid elippu*
Over the country of Nizir was carried the vessel.

33. *šadu Nizir elippu içbat va ana*
The mountain of Nizir the vessel held and to
nâši ul iddin[ši
pass above not allowed it;

34. *ištin yumu šana yumu šadu Nizir (idem)*
one day a second day the mountain of Nizir (*idem*);

35. *šalša yumu ribâ yumu šadu*
the third day the fourth day the mountain
Nizir (idem)
of Nizir (*idem*);

36. *ḫanšu šišša šadu Nizir (idem)*
the fifth, the sixth the mountain of Nizir (*idem*);

37. *siba yuma ina kašadi*
the seventh day at the approach

38. *ušeçi va summata umaššar illik*
I caused to go forth and a dove I loosened; went
summatu ituravva
the dove, it turned and

39. *manzazu ul ipaššuvva issiḫra*
a place where to rest not it found and it returned.

40. *ušeçi va sinunta umaššar*
I caused to go forth and a swallow I loosened;
illik sinuntu ituravva
went the swallow, it turned and

41. *manzazu ul ipaššuvva issiḫra*
a place where to rest not it found and it returned.

42. *ušeçi va aribi umaššar*
I caused to go forth and a raven I loosened;

43. *illik aribi va qarura ša mê*
went the raven and the carrion of the waters
imur va
it saw and

44. *ikkal išaḫḫi itarri ul issiḫra*
it ate, it rested, it turned, not it returned.

45. *ušeçi va ana irbitti šâri*
I caused to go forth also toward the four winds;
attaqi niqâ
I sacrificed a sacrifice.

46. *aškun šurqinu ina eli ziggurrat*
I made the pyre of the holocaust on the peak
šadi
of the mountain;

47. *sibitti u sibitti adagur uktin*
seven by seven of the measured vases I disposed;

48. *ina* *šaplišunu* *itabak* *qani* *erina* *u*
in beneath them I spread reeds, cedar and
ballukka
juniper.

49. *ilani* *eçinu* *iriša* *ilani* *eçinu*
The gods smelled the odor, the gods smelled
iriša *tâba*
the odor good;

50. *ilani* *kima* *zumbê* *eli* *bel* *niqî*
the gods like flies above the master of the sacrifice
iptaḫru
gathered.

51. *ultu* *ullanuvva* *Rubatu* *ina* *kašadišu* (1)
from afar also the Great Goddess at her approach

52. *iššši* *NUM.MES* *rabuti* *ša* *Anuv* *ibušu*
raised the zones great that Anu has made
kî *çuḫišu*[*nu*
as their glory.

53. *ilani* *annuti* *la* *abnu ugnû* *maḫriya* *ai*
Gods these indeed crystal before me never
amši
will I cease;

Column 4.

1. *yumi* *annuti* *aḫsusavva* *ana dariš* *ai*
days these I prayed ardently and for ever never
amši
will I cease:

2. *ilani* *lillikuni* *ana* *šurqini*
"The gods may they come to my pyre of holocaust!

3. *Beluv* *ai* *illika* *ana* *šurqini*
Bel never he will not come to my pyre of [holocaust!

4. *aššu* *la* *imtalku* *va* *iškunu*
because not he has controlled himself and he made
abubu
the waterspout,

5. *u* *nišiya* *imnu* *ana* *karaši*
and my men he has reckoned for the abyss."

(1) Copyist's error for *kašadiša*.

6. *ultu ullanuvva Beluv ina kašadišu*
From afar also Bel at his approach

7. *imur elippa içtebat Beluv libbati*
saw the vessel, stood still Bel, of anger
imtali ša ilani Igigi
he was full against the gods (and) the celestial
[Archangels.

8. *aiumma yuçi napišti ai iblut̤*
"No one shall come out alive; never shall live
nišu ina karaši
man in the abyss!"

9. *NIN.IB pâšu ibuš va iqbi*
Sandan his mouth made and he spake;
izakkar ana quradi Beli
he said to the warrior Bel:

10. *mannuvva ša la Êa amatu ibannû*
"Who also if it be not Êa the will forms?

11. *u Êa ide va kala me . . .*
and Êa knows and all . . . . . ."

12. *Êa pâšu ibuš va iqbi izakkar ana quradu*
Êa his mouth made and he spake; he said to the warrior
Belu
Bel:

13. *atta abkal ilani qura[du*
"Thou, herald of the gods, warrior,

14. *kî(1) la tamtalik va abubu*
as not thou hast controlled thyself also the waterspout
taš[kun
thou hast made.

15. *bel ḫite emid ḫitašu bel qillati emid*
The sinner loaded with his sin, the blasphemer loaded
qillatsu
with his blasphemy.

16. *rumme ai ibbatik*
Have thou for good pleasure never may it be infringed
šudutu ai . . . .
the faith never . . . .

(1) The repetition of *kî kî*, which appears in the original tablet, seems to be only an error of the scribe.

17. *ammaku* *taškunu* *abuba* *nešu*

instead that thou shouldst make a waterspout, the lions

litbavva *niši liçaḫḫir*

let them come and men let them cut off!

18. *ammaku* *taškunu* *abuba* *barbaru*

instead that thou shouldst make a waterspout the hyenas

litbavva *niši* *liçaḫḫir*

let them come and men let them cut off!

19. *ammaku* *taškunu* *abuba*

instead that thou shouldst make a waterspout

ḫušaḫḫu *liššakin* *va* *mâta*

the famine let it be, and and the face of the earth

liš . . . .

let it . . . . !

20. *ammaku* *taškunu* *abuba*

instead that thou shouldst make a waterspout

Dibbarra *litbavva* *niši* *liš . . . . .*

let Dibbarra come and the men let him . . . . !

21. *anaku* *ul* *aptâ* *piriçti*

I, not I have exposed the decision

ilani *rabuti*

of the gods great;

22. *Atraḫasis* *šunata* *yušaprišuvva* *piriçti*

Ḫasisatra a dream has interpreted and the decision

ilani *išme*

of the gods has understood."

23. *eninna* *va* *milikšu* *milku* *ilamma*

Behold that also his counsel was arrested mounted

Beluv *ana* *libbi* *elippi*

Bel to the interior of the vessel;

24. *içbat* *qatiya* *va* *yultelanni* *yâši*

he took my hand and made me rise, myself;

25. *yušteli* *yuštaqmiç* *zinništi*

he made to rise, he made to be joined my wife

idiya

at my side.

26. *ilput* *putni* *va* *izzaz* *ana*

He turned around us and stopped still; toward

qašrinni *iqarrabannaši*

our group he approached us:

27. *ina pana* *Ḫasisatra* *amelutuvva*
"Hitherto Ḫasisatra (was) perishable humanity and

28. *eninna* *va* *Ḫasisatra* *u* *zinništušu* *lû*
behold that also Ḫasisatra and his wife to
evû *kima* *ilani* *naši* *va*
live like the gods are lifted up and

29. *lû* *ašib* *va* *Ḫasisatra* *rûqi* *ina*
will dwell also Ḫasisatra far away at
pî *na'ri*
the mouth of the rivers."

30. *ilqinni* *va* *ina* *rûqi* *ina*
They took me and in a secluded place at
pî *na'ri* *yuštešibuinni*
the mouth of the rivers they made me reside."

END OF THE APPENDICES.